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OPINION POLL ON CHANCES OF ENVIRONMENTAL PARTY, FDP

[DW251055 Editorial Report] Cologne ARD Television Network in German at 1900 GMT on 24 June 1980 in its program called "Monitor" carries the results of the Infas opinion poll institute on the voters' approach to environment protection in the Federal Republic.

One of the questions was: "Do the citizens of the Federal Republic give priority to economic growth or environment protection?"

Only 20 percent of the questioned people want economic growth at any price. Some 59 percent, that is two-thirds of the questioned, give priority to environment protection. Some 21 percent have no opinion.

The institution concludes that as a whole the poll shows that the people have abandoned the growth philosophy of the 1950's.

Another question was: "What do the citizens consider the greatest threat emanating from the current industrial society?"

Only 29 percent feel threatened by nuclear powerplants.

Some 65 percent believe that a greater threat emanates from the industry, particularly the chemical industry.

The moderator, Ruediger Hoffmann, points out that the increased environment awareness of the federal citizens was caused mainly by the greens, the environment protection party. But the political party has profited too little from this change of the populace's attitude. It is handicapped too much by its image of being a one-issue party opposed to nuclear energy. The moderator goes on to say that the poll shows that the populace is not so much worried by nuclear energy problems as some people may have assumed. So the greens have not become a parliamentary competition despite some spectacular election successes.

Asked what the voters think the greens really are after, 64 percent of the persons interviewed consider the greens a mere "protest movement" whereas only 29 percent regard them as a "political alternative." Consequently,

the institute found, the voter potential of the greens looks rather skinny, with 2 percent intending to vote for the greens "for sure," 9 percent "possibly," and 86 percent "under no circumstances"; 3 percent of the interviewed people made no comment.

To go by all opinion polling experience, the institute reports, this means that the greens will definitely not gain any seats in the next Bundestag.

But what about the other parties? The moderator asks, and he goes on to report: In its survey the Infas Institute noted "an interesting shift in the voting intentions of the FRG citizens after the land-diet elections in North Rhine-Westphalia." According to the survey the CDU in the past 4 weeks lost 1.5 percent and now has a rating of 44.5 percent; the SPD lost 1 percent, now having a rating of 43.0 percent; and the FDP came out the beneficiary, having gained 3.5 percent and now being rated at 8.5 percent. The unexpected loss of the FDP's land-diet representation "quite obviously mobilized liberal voting readiness," the institute interprets this trend.

In conclusion the institute presents a comparison of the popularity of the two chancellor candidates, noting that despite the chiding by the opposition and turbulences in foreign affairs Helmut Schmidt continues to be on the "way up," having gained by 3 percent. Franz Josef Strauss keeps losing popularity: up to the past weekend only every fifth FRG citizen wanted to vote for him as chancellor. According to this survey, the moderator points out, "Helmut Schmidt as the incumbent chancellor has three times as many followers as has Franz Josef Strauss."

CSO: 3103

FDP CHANCES, STRATEGY IN ELECTION CAMPAIGN ASSESSED

Different Trends in Party

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 9 Jun 80 pp 22-23

[Article: "Shape and Form--In Search for a Profile, the Liberals Are Becoming Entangled in Orientation Disputes--Party Chief Genscher Is Ducking a Decision"]

[Excerpt] As always before any election, the FDP this time too is faced with problems of how to maintain its much claimed and rarely noticeable independence. If it promotes itself as the tested partner of the SPD, it is reproached for being a bloc party; if it reveals inclinations toward the DCU, there arises the awkward suspicion of unreliability and vacillation.

This time, following heavy defeats in some Laender, the FDP is concerned not only about its own profile but about its survival. Among party members the fear is spreading that the citizen might consider the one-time "third force" (FDP slogan) to be dispensable.

At the party congress in Freiburg last weekend, a brave effort was made to conceal such misgivings. Even before the congress had begun, the leader of the FDP in the Bundestag, Wolfgang Mischnick, declared it to be the start of a "Liberal offensive," and Chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher melodramatically inaugurated the "most difficult election campaign in our history."

Yet, the chin-up slogans notwithstanding, the Free Democrats as usual lack a clear concept for an offensive. In the party and among the Bundestag deputies the tug-of-war is continuing as to whether, as Verheugen puts it, "we are a liberal progressive party or bourgeois-conservative."

In this country a number of Land chiefs are enlisting some supporters for a course of rapprochement toward the CDU/CSU. In the Saarland, Werner Klumpp is already governing with the Christian Democrats; in Rhineland-Palatinate, Hans-Otto Scholl is flirting with joining the CDU government--

supported by an absolute majority--contrary to official party policy. In Baden-Wuerttemberg, Juergen Morlok has been applauded for his slogan of keeping an opening in all directions, with the Social Democrat VORWAERTS already warning against the "construction work on the southern track."

At the end of the line, steps are to be taken for a gradual change in Bonn. According to these calculations, the time might be ripe for that time when Helmut Schmidt ceases to be chancellor and Franz Josef Strauss too has departed the Bonn scene.

There are also supporters for such hypothetical configurations in Bonn, headed by Economics Minister Otto Graf Lambsdorff, but strong resistance is developing against these ideas.

Primarily Minister of the Interior Gerhart Baum and Secretary General Verheugen are now pushing into prominence to a greater extent. Thus, Verheugen took on the count at the Presidium session last Monday, saying that Lambsdorff was creating the impression that he wanted to continue to govern with the SPD only because Strauss made it impossible to form a coalition with the CDU/CSU.

The FDP chief too noticed the beginnings of a worrisome trend which might push his party into the twilight again. He finally abandoned any ideas of making a continuation of the coalition contingent on Helmut Schmidt being chancellor and tying it to conditions having to do with issues.

Genscher duly announced at the party congress last Friday that the 1976 statement in favor of an SPD-FDP coalition was to apply verbatim for 1980 and for the entire "next legislative period" at that.

Genscher also fully agreed with his secretary general that the FDP had to have "shape and form" and praised Verheugen's controversial program draft for "breathing the spirit of Freiburg"--a most honorable reference to the Freiburg Theses resolved in 1971, which, however, was not particularly to the liking of quite a number of delegates last week.

It happens that the program is already opposed by some people, who consider the whole trend too progressive.

The paper does contain some unconventional things. Thus, the Liberals expressly accept the right to alternative ways of life, demanding a tolerant attitude toward associations resembling marriages, even among partners of like sex, and more aid for drug addicts.

Civic freedoms are given pronounced support. For example, the penal code is to be reformed further. In addition, the program draft contains ideas, ranging from the right to asylum to confidentiality of data, which Minister of the Interior Baum wants to see implemented.

Since the time when Baum replaced Werner Mainhofer a couple of years ago, he has increasingly become a guiding light for progressive FDP members with his consistent policy in support of constitutional rights. His friends only criticize him for still not devoting himself enough to party work, saying that he should curb Landsdorff's influence and himself move to the second spot in the party.

The person occupying the top spot, however, does not want to make a clear decision as to which orientation is to be given greater emphasis. Party chief Genscher has his own idea of integration. "He stands with one foot in each camp," Verheugen says.

Strategy Questioned

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 9 Jun 80 p 1

[Article by Friedrich Karl Fromme: "Does This Bring Salvation?"]

[Text] After an election defeat such as the FDP had to suffer in North Rhine-Westphalia--following Landtag elections which with the sole exception of Bavaria constituted warning signals--dramatic resolve is a routine requirement, as it were: this is the most difficult election campaign in our history, our very existence is at stake, there is no relying on pity, clever maneuvers will be of no avail. As the party congress in Freiburg stated, the party must now be completely itself. But what is the FDP itself, completely?

By pledging coalition with the SPD, the party congress answered this question "unequivocally." While this may not be the answer of the entire party, no other view could be heard at the congress. No conditions for coalition were mentioned. "Implementation of a maximum of Liberal policy" no longer appeared as an absolute prerequisite but as a possible consequence of coalition with the SPD. Baum expressed this succinctly: coalition with the SPD "without any ifs or buts." Contrary to what happened at the party congress almost exactly 4 years ago--also in Freiburg--discussion was permitted this time. But no one spoke about the coalition. Though he is the leader of a reform party, Genscher personally is averse to any change. He firmly holds on to the status quo like someone clinging to the mast of a ship in distress. But the mast can go overboard, and the ship go on. That is the fear of the FDP and Genscher, who is now undisputed in his party--but only until October and provided the party is successful.

What the FDP fears is not Strauss. True, Genscher and other party leaders such as Baum and Mischnick exhaustively warned against the horrors that would come over a Federal Republic with Strauss as its chancellor, but it sounded a little like an automatic piano somebody had forgotten to switch off. What the FDP really fears to its core is an absolute majority of the SPD.

To prevent this, Genscher let himself in for something which, as anyone who knows him must assume, he found difficult. Until the Duesseldorf elections--almost even more uncompromisingly than Strauss--Genscher, in the federal government, had played the role of critical vigilance vis-a-

vis the Soviet threat. After that a considerable majority in the party was able to put it to its chairman that a majority of voters apparently did not want to hear so much of the real threat from Moscow but was feeling quite at home with an SPD which, despite Afghanistan, was making loud noises in support of detente, with Chancellor Schmidt noncommittally showing his teeth.

So Genscher at the party congress did not utter a public word of criticism against the Soviet Union. Afghanistan was mentioned mildly as "a bad business." There was elaborate talk of the security interests of the Soviet Union--as if anyone might assume that Moscow had something to fear as long as it tended to administering its empire (now already including Afghanistan). In this way the FDP tried to break the SPD's intended "peace policy" monopoly.

The other image the FDP presented of itself at the party congress was one of a "liberalism" bearing a frightening resemblance to laxness. It made little difference that incidentally new sacrifices were being offered to the welfare state juggernaut, normally regarded with a certain amount of misgivings. The FDP wants to continue to fight for abortion regulation. It wants to eliminate imprisonment for life. The remnant of punishability of homosexuality intended to protect young people is to be abolished. Forms of living together extramaritally are to be supported. Responsible politicians in the party supporting social legislation fought desperately against wild pension promises. While such different politicians as Lambsdorff, Kleinert, Engelhard and Hirsch courageously resisted the spirit of the times prevailing at the party congress, Genscher engaged in relaxed conversation back in the hall as if none of this was any of his business.

With this twofold turn--toward a divisible policy of detente and a convenience type of social liberalism--the FDP wants to save its skin. But can the SPD not also do all that by itself--and do so with the mighty force of a far bigger party, which moreover has a chancellor doing a good job? To make Strauss a specter is something the SPD can do more easily than the FDP--for the voters of the latter are more apt to wonder whether it is not a little shabby to conduct an election campaign solely by campaigning against someone.

In the end there were even some "leftwing" FDP politicians who left the party congress for home with an uneasy feeling: again only tactics, this time in the form of hurriedly seeking to catch up with the SPD; again only an attempt to be allowed somehow to remain on the side of those in power; again nothing in the way of a modern definition of "liberal" which would make the FDP truly "unmistakable." Not even an attempt to become the party of the exploited middle class which must play in the band of the welfare state without being allowed to take part in the dancing. Instead, adjustment out of a fear of green and red, and at a distance from black resulting in defenselessness. Does this look like a rescue action?

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CS0: 3103

UNDERGROUND SILO PROJECTS FOR NATURAL GAS STORAGE

Ourcq Valley Public Protests

Paris LE MONDE in French 20 May 80 p 22

[Article by Christian-Luc Parison]

[Text] Gaz de France [GDF] has planned to create several underground gas reservoirs in Ile-de-France, firstly because the sedimentary substratum of the Paris basin is especially suited for this kind of operation and also because the Greater Paris region is the largest consumer of gas.

Of the eight sites presently existing in France, three are situated on the outskirts of Paris, namely at Gournay-sur-Aronde, in Oise, at Beynes and Saint-Illiers, in Yvelines. Five other underground storage centers are located in the provinces: at Lussagnet, in Landes, at Chemery, in Loir-et-Cher, at Tersanne, in Drome, at Velaine, in Meurthe-et-Moselle and at Etrez, in Ain.

Since the abandonment of prospecting in Rambouillet Forest, two projects still figure on the GDF program near the capital: in Val-d'Oise, at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, and in Ourcq Valley, within the limits of Seine-et-Marne, Oise and Aisne.

The first project is already quite far advanced since technicians are currently carrying out injections of gas to reinforce the protective "cushion" of the underground table. If storage authorisation is granted quickly by the Ministry of the Environment, pressurized natural gas could be injected into the subsoil before year's end.

In Ourcq Valley, as in seven other contemplated locations in the rest of the country, Vregny (Aisne), Fougilleuse (Oise), Vacherauville (Meuse), Villefranche-sur-Cher (Loir-et-Cher), Bresse-Karsts (Ain), Saint-Gilles et Vistre (Gard), they are still in the prospecting stage.

Since they have learned that GDF had to abandon its storage project beneath Rambouillet Forest after a personal intervention by Valery Giscard d'Estaing, the inhabitants of the Ourcq region, who find themselves confronting the same situation, have begun to stir.

Even though GDF had already been carrying out geologic research for several months in order to determine if the structure, uncovered several years ago by oil drilling, is suitable for storage, the population has only recently reacted. Michel Lhuillier, county councillor (PS), sees an obvious reason for this: "Gas de France believed all it had to do was carry on a restricted dialogue with several leading citizens. The latter have maintained a prudent silence, but if public opinion comes alive they will not fail to take it into consideration..."

Evidently public opinion has already come alive. When he created Ourcq-Environnement several weeks ago, Jean Quintin intended to muster the inhabitants who were disappointed by the overly "hushed up" action of the Lower Ourcq Valley Safeguard Association. "We do not know anything about the possible dangers, the exact area of the gas table, the risks of underground waterbed pollution," he stated.

At GDF, where it was however thought that everyone in the region was aware of the project underway, an information program has been quickly set up. A newspaper, NATURAL GAS INFORMATION, regional edition of Ourcq, is being distributed in the mailboxes of the inhabitants of 73 communes in Aisne, Oise, and Seine-et-Marne, where prospection is being carried out. Jacques Morlet, director of the Department of Public Enterprise Underground Reservoirs is categorical: "The storage is absolutely safe. The technique employed today is perfectly trustworthy since 350 wells are operating throughout the world without the slightest accident having occurred heretofore. The principle of storage in aquifers is in fact a pure and simple reproduction of a natural deposit. Pressurized gas injected at great depth (about 900 meters) drives out water from the subsoil made up of limestone and porous rock and takes its place. On the surface, a clayey belt several tens of meters thick forms a gas-tight dome."

"Our process is the most prudent and the safest," the GDF spokesman continued, "we are even sheltered from any malevolent damage since, in the event of criminal destruction of the well head, a safety valve situated at a depth of 30 meters would block the escape of the gas."

According to Morlet, the reservoir will house approximately 2 billion cubic meters. "This is already a fine storage," he says, "but it will not be Europe's largest, as has been said. "At Chemery, in Loir-et-Cher, we have already constituted a reserve of 3 billion cubic meters." He does not rule out however the possibility of superposing two reservoirs in the substratum of Ourcq Valley (one of 900 meters and a second at 1,300 meters).

To the soothing remarks of GDF functionaries, elected representatives, for the most part farmers, have opposed, during a recent information meeting, an unfailing farmers' good sense. If they understand the utility of the storage within the context of a national energy policy, they do not want to "sacrifice themselves for others."

This latter project, indeed, implies about 20 platforms of 1 hectare each, to which must be added the central station with its compression factory covering about 5 hectares. GDF is already buying up piecemeal the parcels it needs to begin its test-drilling.

Will all of the harmful effects be compensated by the land and professional taxes which will be returned to the consumers? This is what some elected representatives have been wondering while voters, more decisive, applauded the mayor of a small Aisne village, who shouted at GDF spokesmen: "We do not want your wells. Go and stick them farther off in uncultivated regions!"

Vexin Storage Area Opposition

Paris LE MONDE in French 20 May 80 p 22

[Article by Jacqueline Meillon]

[Text] After the agreement given for the installation in Vexin of high tension wires (cf LE MONDE 1 Apr), the inhabitants of this rural western Val d'Oise zone today look with anxiety at the project of underground storage of gas in the Epte Valley taking shape.

This project, which is 3 years old, was rejected by the county council but, in 1978, Gaz de France [GDF] obtained temporary authorization to inject inert gas during a 2 year period in order to test the imperviousness of the underground Saint-Clair-sur-Epte pocket.

A GDF document pointed out at that time that "the use of inert gas shows itself to be the simplest and most economical method, whereas the storage of natural gas would have required laying a joint gas pipeline, a decision fraught with consequences, if the first injection tests proved negative."

The departmental Sites Commission had, in 1976 and 1978, given the go-ahead to the temporary project, at the same time pointing out that "this decision is not binding on the Commission, the definitive storage of fuel gas will form the subject of a different investigation." Now a public interest declaration has just authorized the laying of a pipeline. "It is inconsistent with what GDF declared in 1978," members of the Friends of Vexin Association said.

How can one help but be astonished by this decision, while the temporary authorization of injection of inert gas which avoided the pipeline does not expire until June 1980? How is one to interpret GDF's abandoning the economical process of injecting inert gas? "We are now being told that the gas pipeline is necessary for the tests," Marie-France Lecuir, county councillor (PS) from Pontoise, says, "but it is easy to see through this argument. They want to force our hand. Indeed, if the tests turn out to be negative, if the Banthelu fault proves to be dangerous, how can they turn back, once the 40 kilometers of pipeline will have been laid down?" "The gas pipeline could be used in that case to reinforce the existing pipelines between Paris and Rouen," the prefecture explains. In any event, the public interest enquiry for the storage of gas itself turned out to be positive.

Location of Storage Area

Map of the Loire Valley region showing the locations of existing and proposed archaeological sites. The map includes labels for various towns and rivers, with a legend indicating 'Site existant' (existing site) and 'Site en projet' (proposed site). A scale bar shows 0 to 100 km.

Legend:

- Site existant
- Site en projet

Scale: 0 100 km

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NEW GOVERNMENT MEASURES SPUR COAL CONVERSION IN INDUSTRY

Paris LE MONDE in French 21 May 80 p 41

[Article signed B.D.]

[Text] In order to bring into line its policies with its recently defined energy objectives, the government has just taken a group of measures designed to encourage the conversion to coal in industry and collective chafarries. It also adopted enacting terms for encouraging energy saving investments in industry.

In order to promote the conversion to coal, a bonus will be granted all industrial energy consumers who switch from hydrocarbons to coal use when the additional annual investment per displaced Tep falls between 400 and 2,000 fr. The bonus will be from 20 to 25 percent of the additional cost, with a ceiling of 250 Fr per displaced Tep.

Furthermore, action is going to be undertaken to encourage the construction of French coal-using equipment and 45 million francs will be earmarked, in 1980, for research and development in the field of coal use.

The use of coal in industry and collective chaferies should rise, if the government's wishes are met, from 3 million tons in 1979 to 10 million tons in 1985 and 20 million tons in 1990.

As far as energy saving is concerned, the Agency distinguishes two cases. If new equipment investments are involved, a bonus of from 20 to 25 percent of the additional cost of installing specific energy-saving equipment will be granted when the investment cost per Tep saved is from 2,000 to 7,000 fr. In the case where industrialists, without changing their production capacity, invest in order to reduce their energy consumption, an outright bonus of 400 fr per ton saved will be granted when the cost of these investments falls between 2,000 and 7,000 fr (as compared with 800 and 3,500 fr formerly).

Thus, between the use of coal and energy-saving measures, 400 million francs—61 percent of the Agency's budget—will be earmarked in 1980 for industry. Inasmuch as very profitable investments for the enterprises are involved, since,

according to Poulit, the 1,040 cases awarded bonuses by the Agency in 1979 had an average recovery time on their investment of from 2.5 to 3 years, is it really necessary to make such an outright gift to industry? Whereas both the enterprises' interest and the national interest are at stake, should the bonuses not be granted only in the case where the profitability of such an investment is not assured on the short or medium term?

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CSO: 3100

ND PARTY FUTURE STRENGTH ANALYZED

Athens 1 KATHIMERINI in Greek 1 Jun 80 p 4

[Article by Nikos Simou: "After Karamanlis: New Democracy and the New Meritocracy"]

[Text] Organizational issues of New Democracy [ND] for the modernization and renewal of the party mechanism are surely among the first concerns of the premier and the party officers, as reveal related information, but also "indirectly" disclosed information from G. Rallis. The party youth probably have immediate priority in these organizational targets—given that in a few months the country will enter the final stretch before the coming elections. This is because no one, certainly, can claim that the government party has, as relates to electoral power, a strong organization of youths, with an analogous effect in the student and, in general, youth area.

It appears that what this weakness means for the government faction is that six years after the establishment of ND those responsible for party organization have become least conscious, distrusting, perhaps, the long term significance of a greenhouse of future cadres, or the usefulness of today's aggressive agents of party ideology who take on the struggle for party predominance in critical areas like education and labor.

It is believed that the activation of ND in order to convince that it can maintain, without Karamanlis, its leading role in our political affairs would be an inadequate effort if, this time also, it deals with the party youth circumstantially, thus—and again—ensuring for the youth a marginal role, with the influence of a rear-most sergeant in the area of politicized youth.

In comparison with the ERE [National Radical Union] youth, the organization of ND youth shows serious weakness to which many factors have contributed. Among these factors, perhaps the greatest contribution is claimed by those responsible for the broadest organization of the party. Even ND deputies—it is said characteristically—specifically because they recognize the capabilities of youth in the advent of electoral potential, use youth not for the faction but for political advantage itself.

Starting from the most general reasons which make up the potentiality of a set of youths, reference must probably be made to the element of coalition of its members which is usually nothing more than some sentimental factor which strengthens consolidation by ideological identity.

Before the dictatorship, aside from the right--radical liberalism we would call it today--ideologically the members of ERE youth were connected by the link either of the most acute anti-communism or common preference for a specific political institution or more dynamic juxtaposition in relation to other political groups.

The Connecting Link

The post-dictatorship democracy, very rightly inspired by the misfortunes of the past, is cognizant of where political acrimony and extremities can lead. As a result, the europeanization of political life and political thought, which congeals a mild climate in the country's political life, is one of the forementioned consolidating elements for the members of a politicalized youth. This makes enormous the responsibility of the parties to replace these elements with others which are appropriate for the mildness of the political conditions which our country has need of.

On one hand, politics are definitely settled. On the other, legalization of the communist party can not only have embellished the entire ideology of which it is a vehicle, but also, at any rate, it has dulled the passion for confronting communism, either the theory itself or the persons who express it. There remains, therefore, the connecting link of ideology, and common faith in the same concepts and values, thanks to which they will "organize" into a total their varied experiences. But someone needs to fan this faith in the unformed--presumptively--political consciousness of a youth. The one responsible for this is the party. ND certainly does not claim many laurels in this direction. To the contrary, the party, it is charged in the party congresses by ND youth leaders themselves, has completely abandoned its youth to the point that the characterization of the "silent majority" used many times by ND authorities is considered by youths of the government faction as a pretext for certain party factors to hide their own inactivity.

Characteristic are those things charged by Salonica ONNED [Youth Organization of the New Democracy Party] President K. Noulis: "I could find many reasons for our youth's lack of organization. I stop, however, at the indifference or, rather, the guardedness which the party shows to our youth. They consider our youths unripe for initiatives and view us as a useless piece of the party mechanism. Yet these youths, who are the soul of the faction, shoulder the burden of Marxist attacks both at the universities and secondary educational institutes and in factories, or even on the sidewalks."

Unequal Struggle

But many other examples of the way in which the government party deals with its youth illustrate the minimal significance attributed to the very dynamic nucleus of ND.

In the two post-dictatorship elections, ND claimed a strong presence in public areas. Most times, an unequal struggle was acted out, where the ND youths--pestered, on foot and without special means--saw, shortly after they had finished putting up their blue posters, the walls "made red" by organized groups who, given due notice, arrived in Alfa Romeos.

Perhaps the abandonment of the new-democratic youth is not expressed by the impossibility, for clearly economic reasons, of the regular publication of a journalistic organ for youth, a newspaper which can promote the viewpoints, positions and problems of youths from the center-right faction and can contribute to the attraction of so many non-politicalized or politically unformed youths, convincing them of the importance of faith in liberal societies and the dangers of totalitarian models? When, on the other side, the publishing plethora in the area of the broader left expresses itself in the most eloquent way, even in a basement on Omonia Square?

Who within ND itself could maintain that ONNED not only is aided but that its mission is not hindered when there are known cases of deputies who, exploiting the influence of politicalized youths from the government faction, in the specific areas where they are organized, use the youths for their political offices, removing them in this way from work of greater importance for the government party than the attraction of an electoral clientele for the specific deputy?

Organization on another basis and activation of the ND youth, from which appropriate leadership is not lacking, must be an objective of a specific party target in order to create the nucleus of that which will undertake the dynamic part of a more general party presence and electoral preparation. Certainly, there is no disregard of the fact that youths usually perceive that their concerns and speculations are expressed more by leftist ideology. However, it is a mistake of urban parties to consider this fact a principle, thus allowing the gradual weakening or even the "premature aging" of their youths. Inevitably, what ND will have to pursue as a primary basic target is to thin out the networks of political imperfection from its young members who, given this fatalistic confrontation of reality in the area of youth, naturally forget that, in the end, they represent the majority.

CISL, UIL LABOR UNION LEADERS FOCUS ON INTERNAL PROBLEMS

CISL Confederal Secretary Colombo

Rome IL SETTIMANALE in Italian 20 May 80 p 89

[Interview with CISL Confederal Secretary Mario Colombo, by Andrea Buoncore, of IL SETTIMANALE; time and place not given: "Listen, Lama; Mind Your Own Business."]

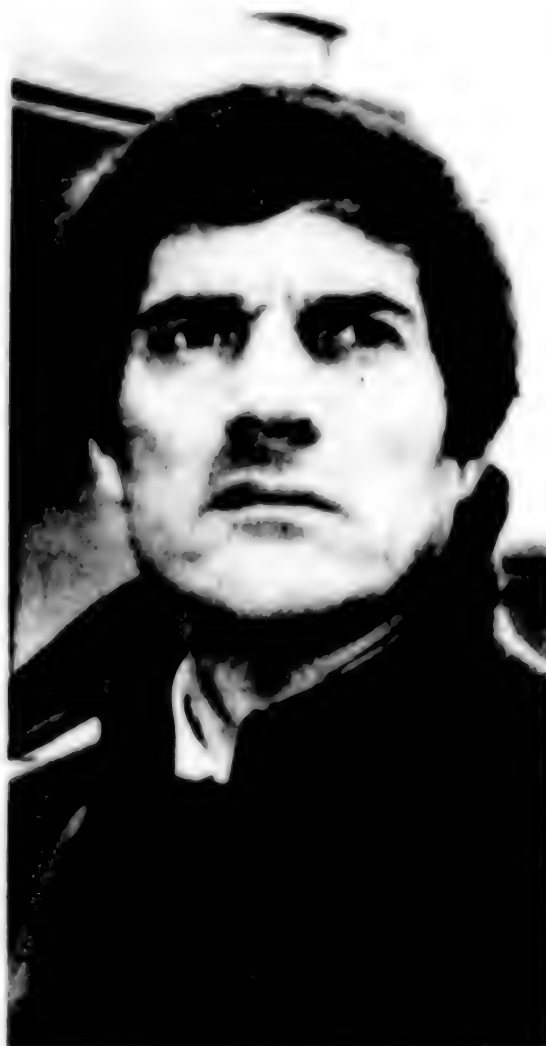
[Text] There is no trade union crisis, says the CISL [Italian Confederation of Labor] "minister of interior," only difficulties. The leader of the CGIL [Italian General Confederation of Labor] is not the Moses of the Italian trade union movement, and he would do well to take care of his own problems.

Crisis? It is a word that the high-level members of the trade union movement hear with impatience, but it sums up the ever-increasing outcropping of tensions in the CGIL-CISL-UIL [Italian Union of Labor]. "The 'Eur' certainties no longer are certainties," laments Franco Bentivoglio, leader of the CISL metalworkers, and for his skepticism he was immediately rebuked by Carniti. But Lama, too, admits that something in the "Eur Line" should be reviewed.

The disorientation of the trade union leaders became evident after the Florence sortie of the "300" who, unlike the Sapri ones, do not seem destined for slaughter. They could even be the tip of an iceberg, between the autonomous ones who press on and on, gnawing away for more and more; the sliding scale that, by automatically giving continuous and substantial increases, begins to make it seem to some workers that the activity of the trade unions, and of the terrorists who penetrate them, is superfluous. In short, this could result in depletion. Miriam Mafai pointed out that the trade union syndrome has by now entered the realm of medical casuistry. How do the leaderships react to these "demands"?

We interviewed CISL Confederal Secretary Mario Colombo, attached to the organization (we could describe him as a sort of "minister of interior").

Colombo is one of the emerging men of the CISL, even if there is no possibility of a career, at least for now, because of Carniti's "excellent health."



Mario Colombo

Question: Many signs point to a state of crisis in the confederal trade unions. What is your opinion?

Colombo: It seems to me that to arrive at such a catastrophic conclusion, there would have to be very different results.

To talk in the abstract is always a mistake. We must make a comparison between what the trade union specifically succeeds in doing in our country with what it does in other countries. Now, it seems to me that trade union achievements in Italy are not less, for example, than those of trade unions in the countries of West Europe. This does not mean that the trade union is unaware of the difficulties that confront it and of the great difficulties experienced by the political and business forces--and this as a consequence of profound changes on the economic plane, on the domestic and international political plane and also, I believe, on the plane of technological innovations that present a completely different aspect from that of the past.

Question: And the "300" of Florence? Are they not perhaps a sign of crisis?

Colombo: I spoke of difficulties. I most categorically reject any talk of crisis. I believe that the matter of the "300" has essentially assumed a different meaning from that meant by the organizers of the meeting. From a discussion of the subject of trade union activity, the press ended by portraying the Florence meeting as an indication of disapproval of the line of the CGIL-CISL-UIL federation. Let us not forget that the organizers of the meeting are members of the directive bodies of the federation. Therefore they essentially were challenging themselves. I believe that the analysis made by the CISL during the assembly of the staffs, that excludes a crisis situation but admits the presence of great difficulties as a consequence of economic, political, and technological changes, is correct.

Question: Is there any objection within the CISL to Carniti?

Colombo: Carniti is quite undisturbed; very safe. I exclude any alternative positions to the line of his secretariat.

Question: Luciano Lama was the one who spoke of disapproval of Carniti, whom he somewhat officially defended...

Colombo: With this reference during the central committee [meeting] of the FIOM [Federation of Those Employed in Metallurgical Industries], Lama made of foreign policy an instrument of internal policy. In reality, Lama knows very well that the majority of the renowned "300" of Florence was from the CGIL. In any case we of the CISL have never needed official advocates and much less does Carniti need any now. If Lama has problems of his own, let him attend to them without bothering with the problems of others.

Question: Lama reproached the presumed accusers of the CISL, rebuked the UIL, accusing them of speaking differently, according to the interlocutors. In short, he behaves as if he were the leader of the trade union movement. Is he?

Colombo: Lama is not the Moses of the trade union movement. We have a much clearer view of power and of responsibility. Actually it seems to me that after a period of internal opposition, the CISL is now the object of less talk. We are not on the front pages of the newspapers every day, precisely because these internal oppositions are lacking; but we are consolidating all areas of work, both in the North and the South.

Question: Carniti said that a rapprochement of the great popular and democratic forces is necessary. In short, a government with the Communist Party?

Colombo: When Carniti refers to the necessity of involving the Communist Party in the government of the country, he makes a statement that I share. Nevertheless, we have never said that the PCI [Italian Communist Party] must join the leadership of the country in this or that manner. We think that the PCI has changed its position considerably, even if there are aspects that cannot be shared. A practical example: shouts and clamors with respect to Carter's intervention in Iran; silence, or almost, concerning Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, which is much more serious. They are contradictions that the PCI must absolutely resolve. But I believe that it is a mistake not to specifically involve that force-- keeping in mind some principles that, from our point of view, are not mediative: Italy's belonging to the Western sphere; pluralism, which means the possibility of organizing politically and socially in a different way (we obviously are opposed to a unitary party and to a unitary trade union). In short, the Communist Party must realize that it is not a question of being pluralist within the same institution, but that it is necessary to accept the principle of a plurality of institutions.

Question: What do you think of Cossiga's second government, in connection with choices regarding economic policy?

Colombo: I have the impression that this government was not the result of a careful assumption of responsibility regarding contents. The planning aspect was only a marginal part of the discussion of the parties that formed it, whereas the trade union gives enormous weight to the matter of contents. Therefore we cannot make an a priori judgment. There is a worry: that this being the second Cossiga government, it may turn out to be the same coat turned inside out, not able to deal with the great problems of the country.

Question: What are these great problems?

Colombo: The revival of the industrial apparatus, which also includes the affair of the Alfa-Nissan agreement; but above all the matter of employment, especially in the South.

Question: Is the CISL in favor or against the Alfa-Nissan agreement?

Colombo: We are neither for a priori national solutions, nor for pro-foreign solutions. An economy that wants to continue to be characterized by an opening with respect to the world market must make it possible to establish agreements with the business concerns of other countries. A national solution of course is preferable, but since the Fiat company only bungled matters and did not make any specific proposals and since, on the other hand, the Nissan company did make them, it seems that the second solution is the right one.

UIL Secretary General Benvenuto

Rome IL SETTIMANALE in Italian 20 May 80 p 89

[Article by Giorgio Benvenuto: "The End of the Heroic Season"]

[Text] It is undeniable that the great amount of talk about the trade union, its identity, and its role has contributed quite a bit to the acceleration of the process of analyses that for some time the leaders, the staffs, and the members in general have been confronting with worry and often with malaise in the structures and in the organizations.

It is true that too many times "concerned" outside interventions, within the very left, itself, have tried to make use of an opportunity to emphasize the difficulties and the limits of our initiative, formulating repeated invitations to make changes and to return home, with surprising impossible convergencies that do not mix.

All of this, however, cannot be used as a convenient alibi for an acritical defense of "this" trade union, precisely because, in the face of various initiatives that are being debated in this regard, the greatest danger would be to withdraw within oneself and to ignore the leftist squealings concerning a model and a strategy in crisis.

The end of the "heroic season" was not decreed only by the change (in some cases by the deterioration) in relations between the political structure and the social forces, under the pressure of disintegrating factors such as terrorism, the rude reorganization of the productive apparatus, the emergence of new problems as a result of the brusque innovations of the labor organization. There was basically a profound inability to become aware of--and therefore to give a worthy, planned consideration to--social ferments, profound changes regarding needs, a decline in the historical parameters of the behavior of a working class which, in spite of constant sociological research, is every changing and moving more and more away from crystallized cliches.

The same undeniable difficulties in unitary relations come in good part from the different kind of approach to this research, which must not of itself become a reason for polemics, for a new trade union model. Unfortunately there is still a risk that schematism may prevail, with a choice of banners that could turn out to be the trade union plan, the trade union of interests, the trade union institution.

In reality, having set aside the "driving belt" model and that of the "summation of demands," in my opinion we must operate in two directions: on the one hand, we must present ourselves to our interlocutors as active planners, without fearing the institutional obligations that may result from this; on the other hand, we must recover, or better, create "ex novo" a different relationship with that "invisible" reality which is the area of the nonrepresented, of the emarginated.

While for the first the stated availability of the government in behalf of a different and more constructive relationship with the trade union should be put to immediate use, with all the positive means that it can enlist to implement a planning policy, the second of course is insidious and above all must be dealt with on the basis of a radical change. We, too, have committed the sin of paternalism with regard to young people; or worse, we disillusioned them by lowering certain standards, as in the case of the unemployment law which caused a confused and difficult situation, or by limiting ourselves to offering them a membership card without any political value. When we make our proposal for a statute in behalf of the emarginated, we intend to consider this basic aspect of relationship, or nonrelationship, with them, with society, that is, the lack of guarantees regarding their demands and their needs.

The trade union has the potential to deal with these points in a debate that will be able to comprehensively reactivate trends that have withered or become tired, such as the strategic Eur proposal, or conditions for internal democracy within the movement, or the loss of cohesion with the civilian society. If necessary, we should have a fiery debate, even with conflicts, but one that will be able to create that pressure that is the foremost requirement for the role of protagonist that a united movement can and must assume.

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PSOE'S GONZALEZ FORESEES SPLIT IN RULING UCD PARTY

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 6 May 80 p 17

[Text] The parliamentary debate on the 13th of this month is beginning to shape up as the starting point of the defeat of the government's Democratic Center Union [UCD]. Statements made by socialist leader, Felipe Gonzalez, on Sunday in Valladolid and yesterday in Gijon confirm the attempt of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party [PSOE] to split the UCD and form a new parliamentary majority in the fall together with centrist sectors that may join forces with it in backing a new government. According to our special correspondent, the anxiety that this initiative has brought about in the UCD and the worry shown by Adolfo Suarez during his trip to Syria regarding preparation for the debate on the 13th reflect the importance of the aforementioned operation.

According to our correspondent in Oviedo, Jose Manuel Zaquero, yesterday the secretary general of the PSOE, Felipe Gonzalez, predicted a governmental crisis for the fall due either to the resignation of the present cabinet in its entirety or as a result of the presentation of a vote of censure in Parliament. In any case, he added "a group from the UCD" will form part of the new majority. The head of the PSOE made these statements during a press conference held in Gijon. At that time, he also called to mind his controversial declarations in favor of deleting the word "marxist" from the definition of the party made exactly one day short of being a year ago yesterday. These statements—published on the front page of EL PAIS—gave way to strong opposition in the critical sector, culminating with the crisis of the 28th congress.

According to what EL PAIS was able to learn, when Felipe Gonzalez was at the headquarters for the General Union of Workers [UGT] in Gijon, the 2nd Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs, Fernando Abril, called him by telephone in order to exchange views regarding the Spanish delegation that will attend Tito's funeral.

Mr. Gonzalez repeatedly affirmed that this government will not be able to confront the political, economic and social crises of the country, motivating a new executive crisis in the fall. "At that moment," he added, "I believe that we will be in condition to form a new parliamentary majority with other parties, including some members of UCD. Subsidiarily, there would have to be new elections. In fact, the entire cabinet should resign at this point, but it is clear that it is not willing to admit failure."

In reference to statements in Valladolid which some newspapers attributed to him yesterday, Felipe Gonzalez denied having said that there would be a new parliamentary majority because of the congressional debate on the 13th of this month.

Our correspondent in Valladolid, Luis Miguel de Dios, reports the following as one of the statements made by Felipe Gonzalez: "Between now and the fall, we must be thinking about the formation of an alternative majority other than that of this government, because the country is going through a grave political, economic and lack-of-confidence crisis." Felipe Gonzalez did not indicate that his party and the social democratic sectors of the UCD had come to an understanding, but he did admit that "we are willing to study the solutions with anybody; not with one group or another or individual [solutions], but rather regarding comprehensive and concrete plans for governing. This can be done on the 13th, unless we again see that something previously agreed upon is refuted."

Felipe Gonzalez insisted that the present government is not going to resolve the problems that have risen "because it is still comprised of the persons responsible for the existence of those problems; the ones who have left the government were only a front."

The socialist leader pointed out that he didn't believe the solutions to be either a government of concentration or new legislative elections. He said, "UCD denies that there is a governmental crisis, because that would call for the resignation of the prime minister as well as a round of consultations set up by the head of state in order to form a new government." He added, "A government of concentration is no good except during periods of transition, because at other times it invalidates future possibilities."

Although somewhat indirectly, the secretary general of the PSOE referred to the possibility of defeating the government and emphasized the importance of the debate set for the 13th. "Then we will know which groups have comprehensive political plans. We have never said that the government has no solutions to certain concrete questions, but we firmly believe that it lacks a comprehensive program."

Suarez, "another Franco"

After having strongly criticized UCD's policies, during the meeting Felipe Gonzalez compared Adolfo Suarez to "a gentleman called Francisco who died in bed; something which no one forgets, because we could not get rid of him." He pointed out, "He does the same thing; he changes ministers as if he were above good and bad. In reality, if six ministers fail, the one to resign is he who appointed them, because the responsibility is truly his. Instead of that happening here, ministers are played with as if they were stamps."

As spokesman for the centrists in congress, Antonio Jimenez Blanco responded to the statements made by Felipe Gonzalez with the assertion that the socialist leader once more "is dreaming of reaching the Moncloa, but that will not be the case again this time. Our parliamentary group will become more unified, because it is precisely this kind of thing that serves to really bring groups together." Regarding the parliamentary debate on the 13th, he added that the opposition "will lack real alternatives" as is already its custom; the government, however, will present a clear option on all topics under consideration.

For his part, the representative from Democratic Coalition (CD), Jose Maria de Arellza, told Spanish National Radio yesterday that, faced with the seriousness of the social and economic panorama as well as with the wave of violence, another different majority backing a new government could emerge in the House. He added, "This does not mean that the presidency of that government wouldn't come back to another member of the UCD, to Suarez himself or to a socialist or independent personality; that is another problem."

In its meeting today, the Board of Spokesmen for the congress will outline the procedure to be followed in the debate on the 13th, including informative coverage of the session on television. The House has no influence over this, even though the agreement recommending equity towards all groups may be adopted.

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CSO: 3110

'ABC' REPORTS: 'THE SECRET PAPERS OF ETA'

Aresti Murder Motive

Madrid ABC in Spanish 25 May 80 pp 8, 9

[Text] ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] is seeking financing procedures which are less risky and unpopular than the revolutionary tax. The Count of Aresti was murdered for refusing to cooperate in a unique kind of business operation. In this report, and the three consecutive ones that will be published in our pages, heretofore unknown details are revealed concerning the revolutionary tax, the ETA's economic pressure, the torture, amnesty, the negotiations and the armed struggle....In documents which have remained secret thus far, we disclose concrete information on the terrorist activity in the Basque Country and the rest of Spain.

The Count of Aresti, Don Enrique Aresti Urien, was deputy director of La Union and Fenix Espanol when he was murdered by the ETA-Military on 25 March of this year. Aresti was the second person to be killed after the Basque elections. He had a reputation as a good man and, according to all reports, up until the day before his murdered he had not received any threat. Nor had he been assigned the revolutionary tax. The tragic letter which was being received again at that time by many Basque manufacturers and professional people, including some members of the PNV [Basque Nationalist Party], had not been written to him. But, despite everything, the Count of Aresti was literally gunned down at the door of his own office. People wondered why, and so did the investigators.

Ziur, an Insurance Agency

It was learned that on that day, Tuesday, 25 March, Aresti had hesitated about going to his office. A few days before, he had held a heated discussion with the board members of his company, a discussion which ended with the deputy director's flat refusal to continue increasing the running accounts of an insurance agency named Ziur, which had been acting as an intermediary writing policies of all types and in various numbers for several months. The Count of Aresti claimed that La Union and Fenix possessed their

own commercial infrastructure which was sufficient for gaining new customers. He said: "The matter ends here."

At the time, Ziur (Aseguro Agentisia [Insurance Agency]) had a legal domicile in San Sebastian and Bilbao, and had distributed hundreds of propaganda leaflets in Spanish and Basque, which in essence made the following statement: "We must devise an "Abertzale" [patriotic] leftist alternative. Saying 'this is not good' is of no use now, and will be even less useful in the future. There is no use saying that the type of life imposed upon us by the imperialists and their associates is not good."

It was an unprecedented statement for an insurance agency with no specific missions other than purely commercial ones. But Ziur, in addition to these propaganda leaflets the lower part of which included a coupon for voluntary enrollment, appeared in a very different manner (we do not know whether it is still in evidence). Ziur had set up a system of professional agents, all of whom were sympathizers or active members of the Herri Batasuna "Abertzale" coalition, "half agents and half soldiers," as was claimed by one of the board members of a firm questioned by ABC, who soon established relations with the most important entities in the Basque Country. The first to receive visits from Ziur (a free insurance agency, according to the calling cards) were Mapfre, Bilbao Insurance, La Union and Fenix Espanol.

A High Percentage

The visiting agent knew (this was part of the instructions given him) that 9 billion pesetas is spent on insurance policies annually in the Basque provinces. The operation set up by Ziur was obvious and advantageous: "Hence it is no mistake to work in this field, because with what is normally spent on insurance, we could collect part of the necessary money in the form of commissions."

Necessary for what? ZUTABE, the internal communications organ of ETA-Military published the minutes of the meeting which KAS ("Kordinadora Abertzale Sozialista" [Patriotic Socialist Coordination]) held during February of the same year. At this meeting, which was attended by representatives from the HASI Party, the LAB union and JARRA, as well as independents such as Francisco Letamendia and ETA-M members, there was a discussion of Herri Batasuna's participation in the Parliament which was to be elected just a few days later in Biscay, Guipuzcoa and Alava. One of those present, presumably the ETA delegate, claimed: "We have financing problems (a million peseta deficit from the Bilbao Sample Fair). Therefore, an insurance agency has been set up to receive 20 percent of all insurance that it writes, from the insurance firm. An advertising campaign will have to be established."

And it was established. In a little under 4 weeks, many individuals from the Basque Country signed policies on life (the type most widely suggested by the Ziur agents), fire and disability. The total transactions concluded by the various professionals in the service of the "Abertzale" cause are not known,

but it may be said that the companies which received the instruction to cooperate promptly made good on the percentage stipulated by Ziur. This was a far less risky means of accruing money than the famous revolutionary tax, according to the view of the very authors of the advertising message publicizing the agency, and "even more patriotic." The orders from Ziur state: "The problem must be dealt with in an organized manner on all levels, and there must be an attempt to find a response. It will not be the right wing which will do this job for us. Only the 'Abertzale' left can do it. There are two requirements for attaining the proposed goal to the greatest possible extent: the work and money of everyone. Insofar as the money is concerned, all sources must be resorted to in order to obtain it. This is, precisely, one of them."

Iribar, the One Mainly Responsible

According to all the reports to which ABC has had access and which were compared on various levels, one of the advertising writers of the message devised by Ziur was Jose Angel Iribar, alias "El Chopo." If our information is correct, Iribar was later to become head of the Free Insurance Agency, and with his name would also obtain a sizable number of customers. At the present time, some Ziur agents have dispersed, and it is quite possible that Iribar may have left the company. But "El Chopo," who has now withdrawn through the false door of soccer, the international figure who usually wore the Spanish shirt, was for some time the one mainly responsible for, or the most visible head of Ziur. However, it is true that the supreme heads of this "entrepreneurial" organization, those who benefited most from the magnificent, generous percentage accrued by the insurance policy firm, were located, and still are, on the other side of the Pyrenees. They all belong to ETA-Military, and all gave their approval for a plan designed, on principle, to replace the revolutionary tax with another source of income that was "cleaner," less risky and less unpopular, especially after the open letter from the businessman Alcorta.

Alcorta has been luckier than the Count of Aresti, the board member of La Union and Fenix Espanol, who when he learned about the Ziur maneuver, refused to continue cooperating with this "unique" Free Insurance Agency. His refusal, which was reported in Madrid, took place precisely on 24 March 1980. A day later, the Count of Aresti, Enrique Aresti Urien, was murdered in his own Bilbao office. Aresti had not received the "letter." The revolutionary tax had not been requested of the Count of Aresti.

'EGIN' and the Revolutionary Tax

But the tax continued, and is still in existence. As we have already stated, the latest letters were dated March. Moreover, they are particularly demanding and longer than usual. One of the manufacturers who received one told us sadly, rather ironically and quite fearfully: "One might say that they give you explanations in the first paragraphs...." And it is true: "The Basque bourgeoisie, that social class to which you belong, collaborated in

the annexation of part of our country to the Spanish State, forgetting its national origin and its culture, for the sake of its economic interests; a nation and a culture which belonged not only to it (that social class, one assumes), but to all our people."

The letter then goes on to discuss the "excesses" of the dictatorship, stating thereafter: "You can say that you had no knowledge of the war and did not take part in the restoration of the dictatorship. But what you and all the bourgeoisie have done, and are still doing, is supporting with taxes the maintenance of the Armed Forces and the rest of the institutions of the Spanish dictatorship which are occupying our country. And, under its protection, you have succeeded in exploiting the workers, whom you have prevented from legally organizing, or striking in the defense of their rights, with impunity."

After claiming that "if you are not an advocate of the dictatorship, you must cooperate with the people," the letter indicates the method that the recipient must use to comply with the revolutionary tax. And, whatever may be said, the individual to whom it is sent still appears to be "Otxia," Javier Aya Zulaica, the head of ETA-Military, and son of the president of the Biscay Physicians' Association, that just a few months ago signed a letter to all members of the association encouraging them to refuse to pay the tax.

One of the individuals who seems to have the most and best information about this revolutionary tax right now is the financial director of the newspaper EGIN, a paper published in San Sebastian by the Orain, Inc, promotional firm, namely, Francisco Javier Galdeano Arana, who has been officially accused of serving as a "drop" for the receipt of letters and as a "recipient" of many millions of pesetas used to pay the ETA's many expenses. A builder with the surname Anasagasti testified that he turned over the money solicited by ETA to Javier Galdeano. On that occasion, as on several others both before and afterwards, Galdeano picked up a package containing 5 million pesetas, a package which "some one was to take to France" later.

EGIN, the newspaper which came into existence legally, to "offer a new type of news in keeping with modern times, so as to contribute to social coexistence based on respect for the human person, with his universal rights and obligations," has constantly denied the role played by its financial director in receiving the revolutionary tax. But, whether or not its financial director is an ETA collaborator, EGIN has close ties with this organization, as one may infer from the following paragraph taken verbatim from ZUTABE: "It is far more important (the reference is to the now defunct agency, Euskadi Press, with which one of the members of the commando force which murdered Carrero Blanco, Perez Beotegui, alias "Wilson," was associated, as a salesman) to keep EGIN surviving and proceeding along our line, because in this way there will be a medium that we can use; and with what is costing us to run this newspaper we cannot become involved in a firm of this type now." Present at the meeting at which those comments were made were: HASI (Herriko Alderdi Sozialista Iraultzailea), LAB (Langille Abertzale Iraultzaileen

Aldordia), ASK (Abertzale Sozialisten Komiteak) and ETA (Euskadi ta Askatasuna).

However, the "Alicorta explosion" has not only served to produce a chain reaction of solidarity in the Basque Country, but has also prompted a small group (still a very small one) of business owners, manufacturers and professional people to refuse to pay the tax. Recently, in the three provinces, many of the recipients have been attesting publicly to the fact that they have not actually paid it. But that is not always true. What is true, nevertheless, is that the ETA-Military will be encountering increasing difficulties in obtaining the money that is requested, particularly since "couriers" are becoming scarce. This is why they are using new methods which will make it possible to continue financing the armed struggle. One, the most important, is that initiated with the insurance. Another, of lesser significance, but with great public emphasis, is particularly familiar to and feared by Basque small businessmen.

The ostensible leaders are the Pro-Amnesty Negotiators, or more accurately, the relatives of Basque political prisoners and refugees, who have prepared some crude leaflets that they distribute without much coordination among the towns and cities of the three provinces. The leaflets state: "Merchant: by means of this note we want to ask your cooperation with our relatives who are jailed and refugees, by contributing clothing, food or money. We shall collect next week. Ask the person who comes to collect for authorization from the Pro-Amnesty Negotiators."

Apart from the special grammatical construction used by the Basques, what is most noteworthy is the reiteration of the requests, because, in fact, it does not suffice to "give" once. There can be several appeals, depending on the economic means of the person approached. This explains the over 2.5 million pesetas that the Negotiators recently paid in the form of bail to secure the release of several prisoners, from both the ETA-Military and the ETA-Political Military, bail which in some instances, such as that of Inaki Orue and Maite Martinez, amounted to 150,000 pesetas.

The Policies Continue

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to penetrate the financial secrets of the two ETA organizations, even on top. Day by day, although the holdups have not been abandoned as a source of funds, it may be claimed that the tax is the source which produces the most hard currency for the terrorists. However, and as has been demonstrated in this report, at the present time the ETA "technicians" are proceeding to set up other systems of exchange which could in time become equally lucrative. As ABC has learned, the insurance policies are continuing to be written. ETA "has no problem in reaching you." Such is the great and tragic truth with which this first report on the current terrorist reality in the Basque Country must conclude; a country consisting of a few provinces and people overcome by hatred, who do not find

sufficient protection in security forces which are demoralized by the lack of concrete objectives and by ignorance of the reasons for the struggle, and because (and this is the most serious aspect) they think that, after all, there is nothing that can be done, and that it is too late now. "They are not ousting us, we are leaving ourselves," ABC was told by one of the heads of the security forces operating in the Basque Country. There could not be a more grievous or less optimistic conclusion.

Police Action, Amnesty Discussed

Madrid ABC in Spanish 27 May 30 pp 8, 9

[Text] Two issues, torture and amnesty, are the focal point of all the campaigns mounted by the two ETA and their respective mass organizations, unions and, of course, negotiators, who are attempting to offer not only legal protection, but also social, political and human protection for the Basques who have been arrested and who are in jail.

The campaign concerning torture began to be evident last fall. For the first time, the ETA-Military and the ETA-Political-Military engaged in parallel public action. Although there is no record of any concrete agreement, it does appear that there was at least a current, tactical pact on the basic points. The goal of the two campaigns, although they would have to be called just one, is to discredit the security forces in the Basque Country, most particularly the members of the Superior Police Corps which, until the initiation of the claims, had not suffered, to put it graphically, the wrath of the Abertzale demonstrators.

'Torture Is Not Profitable'

The intelligently arranged campaign was successful, so much so that, just a few days ago, during the second week of May, the civil governors of Biscay and Guipuzcoa were forced to appear before the Committee on Mistreatment of the Congress of Deputies, a committee to which Juan Maria Bandres, of the Euzkadiko Esquerra coalition belongs. It is chaired by Gregorio Pelaez, a discreet and faint-hearted person, who is permissive. Bandres has the say.

Bandres plays a preeminent role. KEMEN-21, the ETA-Political-Military's internal organ of information, praises the lawyer and deputy from San Sebastian. And it has more to say in a chapter devoted to the "attitude of the member toward his arrest." The main paragraph relates to torture, stating: "According to the most reliable reports, and despite the fact that the contrary is still being claimed, the use of torture against the Basque militants in custody is not systematic, nor even frequent..." And in another paragraph it goes on to say: "This change in attitude among the 'txakurrada' (police) will not fail to surprise more than one person (the 'mili' militants have been the most surprised), but it has a meaning, because the government realizes that, under the present political circumstances, the use of torture is not politically profitable."

Despite this clearcut assertion, the lawyers and the Pro-Amnesty negotiators are still claiming that torture is a practice commonly used in the police stations and barracks of the National Guard. Bandres is the proponent of the charges. The aforementioned KEMEN-21 also refers to the Euzkadi Ezquerria militants when it states: "Hence the concern of the revolutionary parties for devising a legal framework that will impede the use of torture; for example, by defining torture as a crime, and providing the accused with legal assistance from the very time of his arrest. In this regard, Bandres's report is very interesting, because it would appear that there is a chance of securing a law which would allow for the presence of an attorney from the very outset. Also, detracting legal value from the statement signed in the police station acts against torture, because, in this case, there is no interest on the part of the police in making the individual under arrest sign a confession."

Bandres is familiar with this text, and it is also known to the legal professionals responsible for the defense of the ETA members in custody. However, the campaign has had increasing success in the Basque Country, to the point of making people believe that the police use torture and beatings, and inflict punishment on those under arrest. Almost no one doubts this. A leaflet that was widely distributed in the three provinces, entitled "Torture, Our Daily Bread," contained the testimony of Aramayo Egurrola, who was sent to the Commission on Mistreatment of the Congress of Deputies to "disclose the existence of torture and mistreatment in the police departments, and to invite them (the honorable members of Parliament) to visit these departments when the prisoners have been there 2 or 3 days...."

At the present time, and in different trial courts in Bilbao, seven proceedings are under way against an equal number of members of the security forces who have been accused of mistreatment.

The 'Txakurrada' Threat

In view of the campaign, the morale of the members of the forces of order continues to decline. No one is willing to defend them. The lawyers and prosecutors in the Biscay courts refuse to take over these cases. Sometimes they claim personal security; on other occasions, ideological reasons, and in fewer instances, pending work. Only the presence of two lawyers from Madrid in the Basque Country has made it possible to resolve the tragic status of some citizens whom no one wanted to defend. However, the attorneys from Madrid met with many difficulties, ranging from disdain on the part of their Basque colleagues to lack of understanding among their fellow lawyers, who should have been the first to back them. Nevertheless, the prosecutors still refuse to assist the accused. And what about the judges? For quite understandable reasons, they act under coercion. Most of them are hoping for a transfer. One of them recently stated: "Our first morning reading is the 'Official State Bulletin,' to see if there is finally a vacancy in Malaga." An official from the public order agency who works in the Basque Country remarked: "Here, the alleged ETA members enter by one door and leave by another. So there is no method." However, KEMEN-21 issues concrete instructions to

its members regarding behavior in the event of arrest. The instructions are of an elementary nature, and seem more like paternal advice than intelligent rules for malicious terrorists. In the section devoted to "not losing one's calmness," it states: "It must be borne in mind that the 'txakurrada' always act so as to make you think that they already know the real extent of your participation. Don't believe it! Those alleged disclosures by comrades and that alleged compromising evidence that they claim to possess are mere bluffs in most instances."

Amnesty Negotiators

KEMEN-21 also requests that the ETA members "not talk much," nor "about trivial matters." "In other words, behave in a blunt, abnormal, suspicious manner, and a silent manner in particular, so that they cannot find out what you are like in 'normal' life." In another paragraph of this text, under a headline that we cannot reprint because of its indecency, but can be translated to mean "don't be frightened by the abuse," the authors of the ETA-Political-Military document again admit: "If we start on the assumption that the 'txakurrada' now have orders not to use torture, it is obvious that we must rid ourselves of the mental obsession with torture."

As we have observed, the two ETA organizations have made their spectacular anti-torture campaign extremely profitable. The negotiators know the difficulties facing the police and national guard in defending themselves; and they have taken advantage of the confusion that exists to double and enhance the seriousness of the charges. Perhaps the only possible solution for the present state of affairs is the appointment of a special judge who would have authority in the three Basque provinces, and who would have jurisdiction over the proceedings that have been brought or are being brought with regard to alleged torture. This would be a way of resolving the situation, but it would not even be sufficient.

And it is not because, where the ETA leaders do not come, there are the pro-amnesty negotiators, who literally attempt to take all the prisoners who are alleged terrorists out of the jails in which they are confined. Years ago, the negotiators were thought of as authentic support committees with which well-known individuals and personages from various areas became affiliated, making the goals set in advance more attractive. This was how Jose Angel Iribar began his militancy in the radical Abertzale movement (he had apparently participated previously in the Basque Nationalist Party); and this was how Eva Forest, the deputy mayor of Bilbao, and Brouard, the cyclist from Perpignan came to work, and may still be working among the negotiators. They are part (and no one would question this) of the sociological framework surrounding the ETA. In case there were room for any doubt about this claim, ZUBATE, the organ of the ETA-Military, devotes considerable space to singing the glories of the negotiators, and also defending them from the attacks made by non-radical nationalist sectors. A chapter entitled "Noiz Arte?" states: "The pro-amnesty negotiators were and still are the target of accusations

from sectarianism. They have not come from the enemy nor from the traditional reformists. They have come from sectors which were sociologically and objectively offspring of the same, long common tradition."

Negotiations, Yes or No?

This amnesty campaign, which was carried out (this is true) with less of a deployment of media than was used in the case of torture, has not had the success expected by its organizers. The ETA has not stopped murdering or extorting for a single moment, and under these circumstances there are very few joining the pro-ETA chorus calling for amnesty. As ZUTABE says, the number of Basque prisoners present right now in various jails, including that of Bayonne, is 167, although this number rises and falls every day. For example, it is thought that after Javier Ruperez' release there were a few leaving the Soria jail who were not expected to at first, and the action was accelerated in many summary proceedings. We have not been able to obtain certain evidence of this, but all the sources queried by ABC agree that some ETA-Political-Military prisoners benefited from these immediate proceedings.

The politician most in favor of "certain 'de gratia' measures" is the Basque interior minister, Luis Maria Retolaza, who was in exile until the beginning of the 1960's, and in whose private domicile there occurred the split in the Basque Nationalist Party youth organizations which gave rise to the ETA, an organization which at that time had no definite ideology and which, of course, was rather far removed from the Marxist-Leninist schemes which it now proclaims as being compulsory for its members to carry out. Retolaza has come out in favor, if not of amnesty, then of flexible measures which would lead to the release of some prisoners accused of terrorism. However, few politicians have backed him with similar statements. Only the leader of EIA [Eusko Ikasle Alkartasuna], Mario Onaindia, and the traditional members of the Abertzale movement, such as Monzon, Solabarria and Letamendia, have done so.

However, Retolaza, in coming out in favor of a limited amnesty, was also counting on the negotiations, and was conveying their feasibility to the Madrid government. In this regard, ABC learned from individuals particularly qualified to confirm or deny the fact of the negotiations, that under the present circumstances there is no serious attempt aimed at obtaining a prompt ceasefire from ETA. We were told: "But at times an effort has been made to negotiate, negotiate. It was done to guarantee a certain amount of peace in the first general elections; and, on 22 June 1977, the ETA-Political-Military, associated with Euzkadiko Ezkerra, a coalition which appeared at the polls, murdered Javier Ibarra. It was also done during the second elections, and just a few days later, the chief of the municipal police, Miguel Chevarri, was killed in Beasain; and so on...." "This proves that the pacifying measures adopted on particular occasions have not had any results. Nor would they have any now."

'A Certain Mr A...'

Moreover, the new interior minister has denied the negotiations. The Basque Nationalist Party also claims that its organization "could serve as an intermediary, but that the responsibility for negotiating on a firm basis is incumbent on Madrid alone." When the ETA militant, Gorostidi, a member of Herri Batasuna, was arrested in France, apparently some documents were confiscated from him proving a definite relationship between a Basque nationalist and the ETA leadership. However, there is no obvious proof of any such contact. A certain "Mr A" is among the individuals who held talks with the ETA at one time; a certain "Mr A" whose complete affiliation would appear to be unknown.

Meanwhile, the campaigns against torture and amnesty continue, with varying success, to be sure. Bandres and Castells, the latter a senator, have been prominent in the charges; two men, two politicians, two lawyers who quite recently appeared implicated in possible connections with an extremist group of the Dutch left. Bandres denied any relationship other than a professional one. Castells y Alberich, another one of those allegedly included, did not even bother to do so. On this occasion their political "clout" gave them an alibi.

Offensive Actions by ETA

Madrid ABC in Spanish 28 May 80 pp 8, 9

[Text] ETA does not intend to give up the armed struggle. On the contrary, as a document from a leader published in ZUTABE clearly indicates, "it must continue at increasing rates, so that the military truce of which the 'parliamentarist' parties and individuals are so hopeful will not occur." The latter is a concept used, not only by the terrorist organization, but also by its transmission line, the Herri Batasuna coalition, which has neither approached the Madrid Parliament nor the Basque one. Moreover, the allusion is categorical, and is directed mainly to the PNV.

The PNV is parliamentarist, and considers it possible to eliminate the violence by merely fostering what it calls a "dynamic and progressive interpretation of the Statute of Guernica." This is why the PNV left Congress and the Senate, and, according to our reports, this is why the nationalist leaders are negotiating in Madrid at present.

In this regard, all reports agree that the parliamentarian Marcos Vizcaya is head of the team which has set forth the PNV's minimal demands. Marcos Vizcaya brings from the Basque Country a clear mandate, a mandate quite similar to the points contained in the famous KAS Alternative: Navarre, withdrawal of the FOP, amnesty, self-determination.... Marcos Vizcaya has concentrated very specifically on two of these: immediate financing for Basque economic development, through credit, and a possible UCD [Democratic Center Union]-PNV-PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] tripartite understanding on a prompt

referendum in Navarre. We do not believe that there is any intention of bringing up the issue of amnesty, an issue which ETA would also be willing to negotiate.

Increased Offensive

But although there have been no negotiations on amnesty at present, we are in a position to claim that there have been at other times, such as 1978. In August of that year, as ZUTABE commented at the time (we give a reminder that this is the ETA-Military's internal organ of communication): "There was a kind of proposal for talks by KAS with Martin Villa, who comes from Benegas." There were negotiations then, and they may be under way now, or within a short time.

But ETA will not respect them; on the contrary, it will increase its armed offensive. We are in a position to make this statement because the assertion comes from ETA sources themselves. Quite recently, ETA transmitted to all its commandos, legal and illegal (we shall discuss the difference later, and the discussions within the organization itself on the role of both), regulations to be carried out on a compulsory basis, and the fundamental philosophy concerning the military strategy that the organization will be and is pursuing

We should reprint an especially significant paragraph written by a commando to his militant comrades. The author would appear to be the one responsible for handing down the "laws" on which the ETA's armed activity is to be based. "The present crisis has created new conditions for incorporating new and more extensive popular sectors into the struggle. But we must not be hasty; we must start a patient, meticulous endeavor aimed at creating the medium and long-term conditions, as well as intensifying the propaganda and agitation among the masses on the armed struggle, its necessity and its goals. It seems clear that we shall be embarking on a long, difficult period, and we must create the conditions."

The Third Phase

There is no room for doubt concerning the ETA's policy positions. The text that was quoted (from which one infers a particular intensification of the propaganda efforts) makes express mention of the three phases (medium, short and long-term) that the organization will pursue. In discussing the second (the document dated last February) states: "This seems to be the phase that we are starting now, wherein action of greater scope is to be undertaken, with a larger number of individuals, as well as the coordination of 'ekintzas' (actions) against concrete targets. For example, the execution of informers in Euzkadi within a specific period of time."

Recent history itself, with its long series of murders, confirms the ETA's intentions. During the first 5 months of this year, ETA has murdered 19 persons: the first on 6 January; the last on 16 May, in Navarre. Moreover,

our reports are in agreement in stating that the terrorist campaign has not ended, and that ETA may start the third phase of its strategy which was begun in February.

ZUTABE comments on this third phase: "One result of the previous steps would be the attack on barracks and checkpoints, the seizure of towns, etc."

The Spanish Basque Battalion

The "bat commando" that we have mentioned indicates the concrete possibility of "a strong infrastructure, knowledge of the area, political-military training, sufficient weaponry, snipers, pickets for self-defense..." It may be thought that this phase is still far off in the dynamics of the terrorist military strategy, but that is not so. Otherwise, how can we interpret the arrest of two municipal policemen in Arrigorriaga, one of whom was the very one directly responsible for the operation of a commando unit? The sources consulted by ABC for this series of reports by no means reject such an assumption.

The most recent violence triggered by ultra-right wing groups and strangely enough predicted by ETA in ZUTABE provided the armed organization with reasons, and the latter thinks that "the circumstances are being created for our action to be accepted and assimilated by the people." Our investigation of the so-called Spanish Basque Battalion, which was responsible for at least four murders in the three provinces, has enabled us to assert that it does not exist as a group of this type, that it does not have its own infrastructure, and that it may consist of a small cell comprised of uncontrolled members of the security forces who have decided to go into action and respond to the blood shed by ETA with more blood.

Who Commands the ETA?

It is obvious that we are witnessing the prelude to greater terrorist activity. There may be negotiations, or there may not. The ceilings on the autonomies may be raised, or they may not. Economic priority may be given to the Basque government, or the financial resources may be given sparingly. It is all the same: ETA will continue killing. These are its comments: "What we must reiterate once again is that ETA must now propose for itself a program of military action based on a more direct confrontation with the oppressive Spanish apparatus and its defenders, for the pursuit of our tactical and strategic goals."

The best hope that the ETA announcement will not be fulfilled is the disorganization in its ranks, and the serious and constantly increasing differences that divide the forces which backed Herri Batasuna from the whole group of individuals who at first comprised the KAS Alternative.

It is a fact, on the one hand, that the "Kordinadora Abertzale Sozialista" is currently (according to the ETA's remarks) experiencing "a disastrous internal situation, and the only revolutionary party within it is HASI." It is

also a fact that the "Batallas" independents, such as Letamendia, Solabarria or Castellin, now have under way in ETA a process of criticism, based on the mistrust and hesitation on the part of these politicians. And, finally, it is a fact, and it is the most important one, that no one knows for certain "who commands the ETA at present."

ABC has detected in the remarks of the security officials and among some sources close to the "Abertzales" a certain amount of doubt, when the time comes to give a serious answer to this question: Who commands? Is it the "beraziak" (the hard-liners); is it Iturbe Abasolo, or Apala? Is it those responsible for the legal commandos? Who commands the ETA? The testimony from the militants themselves is not very clarifying either, and the disputes, some very serious, between the legal commandos and the illegal ones do not help to expose the truth.

Training Courses

On 6 January 1980, the very day on which Angel Banos Espada, a guard at the Nuclear Powerplant, was murdered in Lemoniz, an illegal militant signed in ZITABE a very harsh allegation against the "legals," some paragraphs of which we must reprint. The legal commando operates in the Basque Country, and is comprised of men and women who lead an ostensibly normal life and who are clandestine militants in ETA. They are accused of lack of preparation and "ineffectiveness" ("why don't the legal commandos strike regularly?"). There is even a reference to a certain amount of cowardice. But the most interesting part of this text relates to the training of the militants. It says: "Basically, when a commando wanted to join the organization, one of its members had to pass a short course which was usually about 2 weeks long. In this course lessons were given to train those attending it, who would later pass it on to the rest of the commando. Generally, the most intensive part of the course was the subject of explosives, a subject that was well prepared. Later, in the matter of weapons, I think that it was inadequate. I think that when you left the course you did so without having acquired confidence with weapons; and this is an unpardonable shortcoming for an armed organization, because its members are hampered when it is time to act."

A 'Great Plan'

The critical and superior militant (needless to say, his account relates to the recent past) then discusses the military training, and describes in a wealth of detail the weapons that a "well prepared" legal commando must have: "a 22 pistol, a 22 submachine gun, and 22 rifles;" and he continues: "This would readily allow for obtaining these weapons and their pertinent ammunition, since they are easy to purchase."

The text concludes with a generous footnote which, however, does not conceal the previous diatribes. The "bat commando" says: "Just as I am picking a quarrel with the legals, someone could do so with the illegals. They too

deserve criticism, because discussing problems always helps to find the solutions."

In the communiques, ETA does not conceal its intention of continuing with the practice of terrorism. But, according to its own confession, it "lacks a great plan of action." Essentially, the militants expect that some one in the organization has made a program of this kind. But it does not exist. "We think that ETA (in the abstract) has a 'great plan of action,' and we fail to realize that we are the ETA."

Many experts on the subject claim that "ETA could not give up the armed struggle even if it wanted to." They refer to the creation of a sociological, political and economic environment around the organization which makes it virtually impossible to turn back in the methodology that has been chosen. In fact, ETA today is the "enterprise," an enterprise with expenses and profits which "must be made to operate." According to these experts and those running the organization themselves, "in order to survive it must keep on killing."

A Leninist Organization

ETA is, in addition, a Leninist organization which believes that urban guerrillas comprise the basic method of revolutionary action, which establishes clearcut priority for political action over military action, and which believes that the guerrilla focus is the vanguard of the revolution. Its very philosophy is anti-pacifist because, according to the basic document of the ETA-Political-Military, KEMEN-21: "In order to continue their work, the guerrillas need to have the backing of popular criticism, and a citizen's movement so that the penalties will be carried out. By means of this guerrilla action and citizens' action, the repressive apparatus, army and police, begins to disintegrate, realizing that it is powerless against an enemy that is striking from many points and is invulnerable. The exploited people will accept the conditions imposed on them, and when they obey they are offered a security that they do not find in the so-called forces of order."

These are the remarks of ETA, and this is the process that the Basque Country is perhaps undergoing today. The exploited consist of 2 million citizens. An armed minority is unmercifully attacking the very structures of the society. The security forces cannot deter so much terror. The revolutionary tax is accepted as a lesser evil. The state is defenseless. Such is the somber and chilling picture that ETA has drawn, one which tragically has begun to materialize in a sad reality.

ETA Policies, Ideology

Madrid ABC in Spanish 30 May 80 pp 11, 12

[Text] ETA is something far more than a mere terrorist group. As we have said, it is an "enterprise" that has been sociologically established in the

Basque reality, which needs to clarify its own ideology. It does not suffice to explain the ETA phenomenon by stating that it is a Marxist-Leninist terrorist group. No, that is only the beginning. ETA is much more.

ETA has a group of experts who have made an extensive and careful study of the world crisis during the past few months. The result is a document, which we shall now discuss, containing an analysis of the consequences of this crisis, made on three levels, European-universal, Spanish and Basque. Some of the data used by the ETA "technicians" to determine the current situation have infantile grounds and treatment; but, nevertheless, they merit consideration owing to their inherent significance.

The Situation in Euskadi

Last February, ZUTABE claimed that capitalism had lost the game. There is nothing new in the extremist-communist dialectics; but it also claims that only the most powerful countries, such as the United States, Germany and Japan, have succeeded in starting up their economies again. For Spain and France (two countries directly affected by the ETA demands), all kinds of misfortunes are reserved: increased unemployment, galloping inflation, dissatisfaction with the bourgeois democracy, and crisis in the liberal systems.

It is added: "The circumstances contributing to an exacerbation of the crisis are: a very large foreign debt, zero growth in the GNP, flight of capital and lack of investment, and a high inflation rate." Then ETA analyzes the political situation, announcing "it is not very encouraging for the oligarchy either": "The various sectors of the oligarchy which hold the power are by no means homogeneous. Evidence of this is the disorientation that has been shown on many occasions by the constant confrontations between UCD and AP [Popular Alliance], the pressure from the army, and the changes in attitude regarding the policy on autonomy...."

A Universal Opinion

It is odd to find that the notorious "sudden shifts" denounced in Parliament regarding the concrete issue of the autonomies use the ETA's revolutionary strategy. However, a clearcut distinction must be made regarding the attitude of the two branches of ETA toward the concrete issue of independence, because ETA-Military, whose coalition political organization is Herri Batasuna, flatly demands independence; and ETA-Political-Military, made up of ideologized militants, such as "Pertur," wants, at first, the dynamic interpretation of the Statute, "a concept wherein they are in total agreement with the PSV." ETA-Political-Military, EIA (its original party) and the Euzkadi-ko Ezkerra coalition are calling for self-determination and, in the final phase, independence and socialism.

In the document that we have been discussing, ETA criticizes such concrete aspects of Spanish policy as the government's economic plan, the Worker's Statute and the autonomies....Concerning the latter, it claims that there

has been "the initiation of a program for autonomy which is already becoming controversial. In the first place, the government has imposed a considerable restraint on all of them; and, secondly, it has established a differentiation. Thus, it has succeeded in checking the struggle for autonomy of the more advanced nationalities for the sake of a false solidarity."

After reviewing the overall Spanish problems, ETA makes a detailed analysis of the "situation in Southern Euskadi," wherein the attacks are divided between UCD and PNV. The Statute of Guernica is called a "statute of Moncloa," and the following are described as specific causes of the crisis, limited to the three provinces: a deterioration in nature, increasing importance of the struggles of the neglected sectors and groups, progress of the struggle for amnesty, direct confrontation by ETA with the Spanish authorities, advancement in self-organization and repudiation of delegated forms of democracy, and the presence of a national struggle.

The 'ETA Counter-Power'

Next, after explicitly rejecting any type of collaboration with the bourgeois parties (PNV is apparently unaware of the ETA refusal), ETA cites its own alternative: an alternative which is actually an entire plan for a society quite different from the one called for by PNV, the nationalist group (in Basque, "Abertzale" literally means "patriot"). ETA clearly states that "All the sectors favoring rupture would become agglutinated and organized around this project (referring to a 'democratic and really popular program'), based on a few minimal points and a work program, constituting the seed of a true workers' and people's counter-power."

Here, for the first time, an essential concept is reflected: counter-power. ETA cannot define it in a few words, but it does provide its three main characteristics: 1. an entity which will gather the people's demands; 2. one which will devise a work program based on the foregoing demands, until they are endowed with an anti-capitalist nature; and, 3. therefore, and from its beginnings, it cannot be affected by the evils of the bourgeois Parliament: delegation of authority, elimination of the mechanisms for indirect democracy, non-recall of those elected....

The counter-power is called EHBN (Euskal Herriko Biltzarre Nazional), a counter-power which will be joined by pro-amnesty negotiators, anti-nuclear committees, neighbors' associations, women's organizations, youth organizations, the under-privileged, retired persons.... ETA does not leave out any group which could uphold a single demand. ETA accommodates and spreads the voice of those who feel neglected. That is its prescription.

An Original Constitution

The EHBN has its "constitution," its legal regulations, which ETA has taken the trouble to disseminate. The minimal points clearly reflecting those desired by the apostles of "Abertzale" radicalism are as follows:

1. Euzkadi is a nation based upon a territory which includes Araba (Alava), Guipuzcoa, Nafarroa, Zuberoa and Bizkania, and which has a national language: Euzkarra.

2. Euzkadi has a right to:

a. Insure its national and territorial unity;

b. Defend, promote and recover its national language;

c. Freely determine its national destiny, including independence and socialism among its options.

3. Southern Euzkadi is fully entitled, as a first step toward an authentic process of self-determination, to pursue a National Statute on Autonomy.

4. Northern Euzkadi, comprised of the historical territories of Lapurdi, Behe-nafarroa and Zuberoa, is entitled to set itself up as a politicoadministrative entity in its own right.

Utopian Dimension

We could go on similarly. ETA is quite well aware that, at present, its plans have a utopian dimension. Therefore, it has selected formulas for intermediate pronouncement, formulas which can be replaced when the dynamics of history allow for substitution. One of these formulas, the main one, is the KAS Alternative, based on: integration of Navarre into the Basque Country, withdrawal of the Forces of Public Order, amnesty, and the right to self-determination. KAS (or rather, its leaders), in a debate which was not always of Versailles quality and which was published by its internal news organ, rejected the insurrectionalist thesis, which "would entail a revolution on the state level." Integrated into KAS (Koordinadora Abertzale Sozialista) are parties such as HASI (the most advanced and most revolutionary of all those which, at the time, signed the Herri Batasuna coalition), a union such as LAB and, of course, ETA. In KAS, there has been a discussion of the gearing of the armed struggle to the presence of Herri Batasuna in Parliament, a discussion which took place at many meetings and which, finally, and not without great tension, ended in the refusal to participate in the "bourgeois tasks" of a Parliament which, in the opinion of the "Abertzales," would be in the service of the Spanish State.

Absent Parliamentarians

HB's Basque parliamentarians not only fail to attend Congress and the Senate in Madrid; they are also absent from the sessions of the newly initiated Basque Parliament. However, there is no doubt that they will participate in its tasks whenever they think that their vote will be critical to the attainment of their aspirations. The councilmen of Herri Batasuna — not

returned to their town halls either, but they will do so. They have done so when condemning the intervention of the security forces was involved. They are parliamentarians and council members ready to assume the responsibilities stipulated by their coalition which are, in the final analysis, determined at meetings wherein ETA has the say. This is the truth about ETA. This is the irrefutable truth about ETA.

Final Note: The Count Aresti, whom we mentioned in the first chapter of this series, was in Bilbao and, until his death, was manager of the Aresti y Mauro Company, a firm which represented in Biscay the interests of La Union and Fenix Espanol, an insurance company which was not, therefore, related to the Ziur Agency. Moreover, it would appear that, just before his death, the aforementioned Count Aresti did not hold any discussion with the board members of the entity that he headed. According to our information, the discussion took place within the associated group of Basque insurance agents.

Reaction to Publication of Report

Madrid ABC in Spanish 29 May 80 p 12

[Text] Bilbao--Yesterday, Francisco Letamendia, Jose Angel Iribar and representatives of the Ziur Insurance Agency, all implicated in an article which appeared in ABC claiming that activities of the ETA organization were being financed through that agency, denied any link between the agency and illegal activities and, in the individual instances of Iribar and "Ortzi," any participation whatsoever in such activity. As a result, criminal charges have been brought against the newspaper ABC jointly by all those cited in the aforementioned article.

Two Plans

One of the founders explained: "Ziur came into existence 2 years ago as a commercial plan to obtain necessary funds to make it possible to install audiovisual aids in the 'ikastolas' [schools for teaching Basque language] and to create an infrastructure for the future Baque TV. Individuals such as the sculptors Oteiza and Basterrechea participated in the original group. Operations began in Bilbao and San Sebastian, with the aid of a group of persons who were unemployed, and who shared the idea and the goals. The group did not exceed a dozen members. A few months later, inasmuch as difficulties were being experienced by the head of the agency, Mr Artola, in forming an association as insurance agents, and this factor was having a negative effect on the anticipated commercial earnings, the decision was made to give up the plan and dissolve the company. In fact, this took place, and hence it may be said that Ziur went out of existence at that time." Such is the description of the insurance agency given during a press conference called for this purpose by one of the first promoters, Mr Artola.

Deficit

Andoni Aguirre continued the explanation, commenting: "However, a group of us who had experience thought that the plan could prove profitable, and we continued it. We did not introduce ourselves as Ziur, but the companies actually associated our subsequent activity with the original idea. We were still concerned with seeking funds to back a group of cultural studies. We started out by publishing two brochures, one requesting the given name, surnames and some information, and another which may have frightened some people owing to the tone associated with supporting culture and with Abertzalismo. We began with credit amounting to 1.5 million pesetas for the first office expenses and advertising. In any event, I must explain that we never introduced ourselves to the companies with the name Ziur." Turning to the concrete area of the charges made by ABC, Andoni Aguirre made the following statement: "They mention large amounts of profits, in the millions. Our accounts may be seen, and even ascertained from the companies with which we have operated. The all-time profits of our activity amount to 232,848 pesetas, of which sum we collected 170,998. We are in a state of deficit, because the expenses total 154,357. The largest volume of policies relates to automobile insurance; we wrote one life insurance policy, and we did not write as many as a dozen for disability. Furthermore, I would like to say that we had no relationship whatsoever with La Union and Fenix; and this can be attested to by the head of the Bilbao central entity, Mr Maura, with whom we talked and who said that he was willing to sign a document denying any connection with Ziur."

Iribar's Denial

"ABC also said that the agents were 'half militants and half soldiers.' This is completely untrue; the people working with us are independents from the Abertzale left, and are not affiliated with any political party. The majority are unemployed. As for our relations with Bilbao Insurance, and in view of the reaction that its agents have had since the article appeared, we have been promised that the company would disseminate a note explaining in detail its relations with us. They will explain that they only signed a 12,000-peseta policy with us."

Next to speak was Jose Angel Iribar, who denied being head of this agency and claimed that his relationship with it was confined to a contact that he had made with an agent to study a possible insurance policy associated with the potato warehouse business that he owns. He also cited the timing of this publication incriminating him with the imminent tribute to be paid him by the Athletic association: "I have the impression that this is an attempt to boycott it;" and he even described it as "encouragement for my physical annihilation."

Campaign Against HB

Francisco Letamendia related this article and those subsequently published in the Madrid morning paper with a campaign against the public officials from

Herri Batasuna. "I must flatly deny that assertion claiming that I was present at a KAS meeting. None of us HB independents are in KAS; and, therefore, I have never attended such meetings. But I think that there is an attempt to put all of us members of the Abertzale left in the same bag, and to start preparing public opinion for subsequent periods of harsh repression, by accusing us not only of alleged crimes of opinion, but also of acts that we have not committed. This escalation reached its climax with Roson's speech."

In concluding their explanation, the representatives of Ziur, whose title was registered 8 years ago, stated that the "affair" had not caught them by surprise. "Rumors were circulating as early as 3 months ago. Even the latest issue of the magazine ACTUALIDAD ASEGURADORA [Insurance Current Events] published a brief article discussing the advent of Ziur, which revealed a certain amount of fear over the agency's link with Abertzale interests. The article in question begins by saying: 'Insurance agents and the offices of the mutual companies in Bilbao and San Sebastian are extremely frightened. An insurance agency, Ziur, has come into existence, stating in its brochure or introductory advertising that all sources must be resorted to in order to obtain funds for the Abertzale left.' The brief article concludes by saying: 'There is a problem with the Basque issue now even related to insurance, an international activity which knows no boundaries.'"

2909

CSO: 3110

DEMIREL DISCUSSES GOVERNMENT POLICY, SENATE, TERROR

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 26 May 80 p 6

[Text] Ankara, Special--At a press conference yesterday, Prime Minister Demirel discussed the accomplishments of the last 180 days since the government was given a vote of confidence. "It has been demonstrated that the country can extricate itself from the current situation," he declared. "We are in a highly critical period now. Turkey cannot afford another instability."

When a reporter pointed out that Caglayangil's functions and powers have become a controversial issue, Demirel replied, "An acting president can exercise all [presidential] powers. Five [presidential] quota senators will be appointed in June. The final decision will be, naturally, up to Caglayangil. However, if you were to ask for my opinion as the chairman of the JP [Justice Party] and the prime minister, I would say, since this has become a controversial matter, honorable Caglayangil should not select the five senators."

"If I wanted to call for early elections, I would not have beaten around the bush," the prime minister said. "The nation's path is blocked in a presidential election. We will welcome the RPP's and the NSP's [National Salvation Party] support of our proposed amendment to the constitution." Demirel also announced that there will be no price hikes on cigarettes and gas. He, then, discussed the economic measures placed in effect. The prime minister was critical of his Greek counterpart's pronouncements and described them as "obstructive factors in the path of negotiations."

Economic Matters

"OECD nations agreed to extend \$1,161,000 credit to Turkey, with West Germany providing \$295 million of the amount. Some \$250 million of the German loan has already been used."

"A \$100 million agreement with France has been signed. We immediately began using the fund."

"The World Bank agreed to extend \$600 million, evenly divided as program and project credits. Meanwhile, Saudi Arabia is extending \$250 million in the form of program credit."

"The IMF has informed us that credit up to \$1.6 billion will be available and that \$600 million of it will be released beginning mid-June."

"OECD nations agreed to reschedule the installments and interest payments due in 1980 on the \$769 million loan. Negotiations began in early May."

"It, thus, becomes apparent that our 1980 needs have been fully met. In fact, at the beginning of 1980, a total of \$1 billion was drawn from the IMF, World Bank and the banking consortium."

"According to plans, our imports in 1980 will come to \$8.5 billion. Oil will make up \$3.5 billion of it, and \$5 billion will be for our other needs."

"The padlocked Central Bank has been reopened. It has already transferred over \$1 billion this year for items other than oil."

"Our refineries have been working at 85-percent capacity in the last 5 months. At the present, we have a 100,000-ton surplus in oil."

"There were gasoline lines in Turkey in May 1979, but now we are exporting gasoline."

"We are entering the month of June with a 500,000-ton stock in crude oil, 200,000 tons in diesel and 400,000 tons in fuel oil. It means there will be no shortages."

"We had a 82,500-ton shortage in [cooking] oil. We have already obtained 69,650 tons. The rest is on order."

"We paid \$75 million abroad to ease the cooking oil shortage."

"There will be no oil shortage after mid-June."

"The country's fertilizer need for spring has been met in its entirety."

"Agricultural chemicals that our peasants need have been fully supplied."

"The light bulb shortage will end in 15 or 20 days."

"Turkey, which is importing sugar now, will become a sugar exporter again."

"Tobacco growers will receive 22 billion liras this year. Beet farmers' earnings will be 33 billion and tea growers' 15 billion liras."

"We are waging a relentless battle against inflation."

"Power blackouts have been reduced to 2 hours a day and to 4 days [a week]."

"In the winter of 1980, our citizens will be able to buy the coal they need. It will not be a cold winter."

Relations With Greece

"Greek Prime Minister Rallis's use of the term 'war' in one of his speeches is very unfortunate, unless it was a slip of the tongue."

"Rallis's statements on the [Aegean] airspace, his call for a balance in armament, his demands on the eastern Aegean islands, the conditions he sets for Greece's return to NATO's military wing, and finally, his insistence on a 'unitary' state structure in Cyprus, are in the nature of obstructive factors in the path of negotiations."

"Our government has no intention of, nor does it consider, aggression in any form. There are no grounds for concern or alarm."

Defense

"We need \$800 million to maintain our defense capability at a desirable level."

"The United States will supply \$250 million of the amount we need and West Germany has decided to extend an additional military aid of DM600 million."

"The West German aid will be DM330 million in the 1980-81 period, DM180 million in 1982 and DM90 million in 1983."

"Foreign assistance and the funds we expect to accumulate when draftees will pay to be exempted from military service will substantially reduce the amount of foreign exchange we need to use from our own resources."

Anarchy

"Gangs that are upsetting the public and shedding blood will live to regret their deeds."

"We are in a highly critical period now. The nation cannot afford another instability."

"No one should be apprehensive about our efforts to rescue the country from the situation it has been driven into and from its difficulties."

"It is sad to see the nation suffer. We should rejoice to see its suffering end."

The Five Senators Issue

Prime Minister Demirel, then, answered reporters' questions. One reporter called Demirel's attention to his earlier remarks on the election of a president where he reminded about the existence of the nation. "Did you mean we should have early elections?" he asked. The prime minister replied:

"Isn't the existence of the nation a fact? That's where we all came from. If I wanted to call for early elections, I would not have beaten around the bush. The nation's path is blocked in the election of a president. We will welcome the RPP's and the NSP's support of our proposed amendment to the constitution, but if they don't, should I give it up? The nation will give us the power to do these things by ourselves. You may work on it 3 more months if you want. It will not be resolved. We are unable to elect a president. Let the nation elect him."

When another reporter brought up the subject of Acting President Caglayan-gil's functions and powers and the controversy swirling around them, in connection with the upcoming selection of five presidential-quota senators, the prime minister replied, "An acting president can exercise all powers." Then, he added:

"In 1966, Acting President Ibrahim Savki Atasagun appointed distinguished Cavdet Sunay a presidential-quota senator. I would like to remind you of this fact. An acting president enjoys all powers accorded to the president by the constitution. If there are people who find something reprehensible about Mr Caglayan-gil's selection of five quota senators, I would consider such an attitude primarily an act of disrespect toward the office of the presidency. Secondly, I would be sad to see Caglayan-gil's performance of his functions become an issue of controversy. The final decision on the selection of the senators rests with honorable Caglayan-gil. However, if you were to ask me for my opinion as the JP chairman and the prime minister, I would say, now that it has become a matter of controversy, Mr Caglayan-gil should not select the senators."

Answering to another question, Mr Demirel announced he will not raise the prices of cigarettes and cooking oil. He said he saw the press reports but, he added, no action has been taken in that direction. In reply to a question on the elimination of the KITEs [State Economic Enterprises] which fail to operate rationally, the prime minister said:

"Everyone has to consider his profits and losses. We are against the proposition that we should cover our losses by hiking prices. We need a rational economy and that's what we want. We cannot go as far as closing them up. Besides, you cannot find anyone to buy them. It is like the elephant Tamerlane gave to the Hodja. You can't get anyone to buy a losing enterprise. We, the JP, are against the big state idea. The state must perform only its basic jobs. It should not enter into competition with the grocer and the tailor. This, nevertheless, should not be interpreted as a move to close up the KITEs."

Another reporter asked the prime minister if it would be helpful to form a national economic council to bring peace to the labor field. Demirel replied, "I do not reject the idea. It is worth considering." To another question on the status of the labor contracts the Turk-Is [Confederation of Turkish Labor Unions] is expected to sign in the public sector, Demirel replied:

"What to do and how to do it when there is no agreement are spelled out in the law. I have nothing against strikes. My quarrel is with ideologically inspired strikes. In critical times, the government has the right to prevent a strike. I hope it will not come to that."

7244

CSO: 4907

DEMIREL ASSESSES GOVERNMENT, STATE AUTHORITY, OPPOSITION

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 1 Jun 80 p 7

[Text] Ankara, Special--JP [Justice Party] Chairman and Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel said Turkey is the only country where the government wants elections, while the opposition avoids them. He added, "We will go to the nation whenever you want."

Demirel, who made the opening speech at the meeting of the JP Assembly of Representatives yesterday, reviewed the situation in the country. He reminded his audience that the JP government, formed after the elections, has been in power only 6 months, during which time, Mr Demirel claimed, a large number of the problems covered by the JP program have been resolved. "Some of the problems have been resolved, and some others have not, but we are not to blame for the latter. The reason is the refusal to move toward elections, in spite of the national trend favoring elections. The reason is the non-JP majority's refusal to face elections. We said to the nation, Let's go to elections, but they could not say the same thing," he charged. Demirel added that the JP had no intention to pay the price for a situation it did not precipitate, and added, "Things are looking up." He continued:

"In November 1979, with the belief that we can improve the situation, we assumed the responsibility. Let no one doubt that we knew exactly what our mission entailed. We correctly identified the factors in the crisis and we challenged those problems directly. We made important decisions, we made unpopular decisions. If it were a coalition government, we could not have taken one-tenth of those decisions. They were the type of decisions which only a government backed by a large majority can dare take. We did not have a majority supporting us, but we still made the decisions. Ours was a program government. We cannot expect the NSP's [National Salvation Party] appreciation. Besides, the NSP voted for us, not because it wanted us to succeed in our mission, but to prove that we did not amount to anything. If we are no good, the NSP should have no reason to worry. As for the RPP, we've already seen what it has to offer to the nation. If it had anything to offer, it should have done so in the 660 days it was in power. We attacked the problems with sincerity. There were some delays. I am not looking for excuses. I will not offer excuses for us or for others, but facts are facts."

Demirel stressed that his government did not worry about falling from power. He noted that the nation's problems did not begin with his government, and yet, he said, the RPP launched an unjustified and tenacious attack campaign. "What will happen if we go? It won't get better, it will get worse," he said. The prime minister added:

"Who wants you to form a government? Let's go back to the nation. If you think our performance is bad, tell it to the nation, ask the nation for a mandate and come to power. Their refusal to go to the nation indicates that they don't believe what they are saying either. In Turkey in the month of June in 1980, I am calling on whoever does not like what we are doing, either to let us finish what we started out to do, or to go back to the nation. Turkey today is the only country where the government wants elections while the opposition avoids them. It goes to show how irresponsible the opposition is. It shows that it is the type of opposition that can come to power only through adherence to moral principles [reference unknown] or by scheming."

Demirel conceded that bloodshed did not cease. However, he added, incidents were dealt with and many underground organizations were exposed. "We put 10,000 people behind bars," he said. "There is no place left in Turkish jails. The state's democratic powers have been eroded, it is not easy to reassert the state's authority." He, then, called for the rapid enactment of several legislations, among them the draft laws on state security courts, emergency authority and the expansion of martial law powers, but Demirel complained that the opposition refused to go along. "The state's authority was damaged by the 1974 general amnesty," he charged. "They have not admitted, not even once, that communism is behind all these things, this grand instigation." He directed his audience's attention to the latest communique of the National Security Council where it is stated that the relentless battle against illegal acts is continuing. "The state of affairs is not good today, but everything possible is being done to improve it," he said.

On economic matters, the prime minister said the Central Bank began functioning again, transferring around \$1 billion for nonpetroleum items, among them cooking oil and sugar, which eliminated the shortage and dual prices.

Prime Minister Demirel also touched on the presidential election. Reminding his audience that the numerous rounds of voting have produced no result, he stressed the JP's proposal to amend the constitution. The RPP leader wanted a dialogue, which was established, he said, but it produced no result either. "We say, let's go to the nation," Demirel continued. "Those who called the parliament an assembly 10 years behind the nation are now afraid of going back to the nation and are avoiding the nation. What kind of populism is this?" He added:

"Distinguished Ecevit's words amount to idle talk, prettles, and his call for a dialogue is a ruse. Vote for my candidate, otherwise we don't elect a president, they say. This is pure blackmail. If we ask the nation to elect a president every 7 years, will the nation turn its head away and ask to be

left alone? Despite all, we are persistently tackling every problem the nation has, and we are saying, let us go back to the people."

Demirel, then, charged that the fragmentation of the anti-RPP and antileftist vote was largely to blame for the plight of the country. He said the RPP received 98.5 percent of the leftist vote, but the JP pulled 70 percent of the rightist and nationalist vote.

7244

CSO: 4907

ERBAKAN COMMENTS ON GOVERNMENT, ELECTIONS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 7 Jun 80 p 7

[Text] Ankara, Special -- NSP[National Salvation Party] General Chairman Prof Necmettin Erbakan revised relations with the JP [Justice Party] yesterday in no uncertain terms. "Reports coming from our 67 provincial inspectors and 67 provincial chairmen reveal that they are beginning to get hot under the collar. If the JP government continues on this course, we will have to rid ourselves of the obligation to support it," he said.

Listing their complaints, Erbakan said, "What do you decide at this point," and said:

"1. We are ridding ourselves of the obligation to support the JP minority government if it continues on this course. Respect for the seriousness of the administration of the state is our watchword.

"2. It was thought fitting to warn the JP minority government before effecting this decision and to grant them a period of time as the importance of the matter and political courtesy require.

"3. It was therefore decided to present to the esteemed head of the government a letter of intent.

"4. In this letter, we are listing item by item the definite and precise decisions which must be taken to turn away from this course of action, to prevent the anarchy which is aggrieving our people and is rolling our nation toward a disastrous future and to stop the high cost of living, the hardship, the unemployment, the imbalances and exploitation and the deterioration in education, radio and television and foreign policy, and we will call on them to confirm to us within a week that our demands will be met and to take steps within a month to enable us to see the necessary action is in progress.

"If these conditions are met, we will continue our support. If not, our support obligation will be automatically lifted. The letter will be released to the press later."

Erbakan listed the reasons for his party's taking such a step. He said that "they could not be morally responsible for this course of action" and that "the government had made everything worse within 7 months."

The NSP leader continued as follows:

"Our decision to rid ourselves of the obligation to support this government is not a decision intended to make the government fall. There is now a sitting government which has received a parliamentary vote of confidence. According to the legal procedure, bringing this government down is possible only by introducing a question in parliament and getting 226 no-confidence votes.

"Our decision to rid ourselves of our support obligation cannot be a decision to bring down this government. The meaning of our decision is that we would be free if there were any effort to bring down this government to decide upon the position we would take according to the intent and nature of that effort.

"If our decision to rid ourselves of the support obligation goes into effect, it will not be necessary for the government in office to use it as a pretext to resign.

"A government has the right to resign whenever it wants to. We are not tampering with this. But this decision of ours cannot force resignation at this point. If the government resigns, it will be a decision made on its own initiative.

Elected Government

In making proposals for a solution, Erbakan said:

"If the conditions in our warning letter are not met and our decision to rid ourselves of the obligation to support the government goes into effect, there can be no question of our standing by watching our nation fall further into crisis and disaster in the direction of this mistaken mentality. The only way to save our people from crisis and paralysis, now that the RPP and JP administration mentalities have been tried back to back and have failed, is to have a national view administration. We believe that this will come about after the next election. The only hope for our nation now is the national view."

Insisting on the need for the NSP to govern by itself until the elections, Erbakan asserted that early elections was also a solution if this opportunity was denied him and concluded his statements as follows:

"If realization of the solution we have presented here is not possible, early elections are possible. However, our condition as the NSP is the formation of an elected government in which we could be certain of election security and the correct handling of other matters necessary to ensure impartiality."

Erbakan answered reporters' questions after the press conference and when asked whether Tahir Buyukkorucu was resigning from the party's general board of administration replied: "I do not know. No one opposed the decisions we have made. This decision by our party, which represents at least 10 million of our citizens, was made in unity. Rumors will always pop up designed to block National Salvation progress."

Asked why Korkut Ozal was attending this press conference, Erbakan said, "This is a very historic decision. What is more natural than wanting to celebrate this occasion together?" Erbakan was asked what would happen after the government support decision and replied as follows:

"We support the JP from the outside. Let them support us a little. We have supported them for 6.5 months. Let them support us for 6.5 months. Give us a chance to put things in order. And if you will not, then let us go to the nation. What will happen when we go to the nation? The largest party will be National Salvation. National Salvation will show the greatest growth. This is not just bravado. So, come on, let us see. Come on, let us go to the nation, let us see what will happen."

Asked on what conditions support was offered for giving the NSP the task of forming a government if Batur should be elected, Erbakan replied, "We are not bargaining with anyone." When he was asked whether a decision had been made within the NSP about supporting one of the presidential candidates, Erbakan answered with the question: "What does that have to do with this?"

8349

CSO: 4907

CAGLAYANGIL COMMENTS ON PRESIDENCY

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 8 Jun 80 p 8

[Article by Mete Akyol in a series on the presidential candidates:
"Caglayangil: 'Presidential Powers Not Inadequate'"]

[Text] Acting President and Speaker of the Senate Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil summed up his views on "presidential powers in Turkey" as follows:

"Leaving aside the shortage of safety valves in the free democratic system, the present powers of the president in our Constitution are not inadequate for him to carry out the tasks which fall to him."

Before going into further detail of his views on the topic, Caglayangil was in mind of what the presidential duties are:

"The document which best summarizes the duties of the president is the oath he takes," he said, "According to this oath, the president will 'protect the independence of the state and the integrity of the country and the nation. He will respect and foster respect for the Constitution. He will allow no disrespect of the sovereignty of the nation. He will not swerve from democracy based on human rights nor from the rule of law which makes the state the state. He will be impartial. He will uphold the dignity and honor of the state.' If we would like to round out the function of the presidency by combining these duties with the further powers added by the Constitution, we may reach the following conclusion:

"The president is the head of state. He represents the unity of the republic and the nation. He chairs the Council of Ministers whenever he deems it necessary. This means that he is the head of the executive. He appoints Turkish envoys as representatives to foreign states. Foreign states may not send representatives to Turkey without obtaining the consent of the president.

"Laws, decrees, resolutions and international agreements may not be promulgated without approval by the president.

"He presides over the National Security Council and national ceremonies. He selects 15 senators."

Caglayanil then proceeded as follows to express his views:

"Now you are asking me whether these powers are adequate in a republic like Turkey which is not governed by the presidential system. Are these insignificant things? Take just one of his powers, the selection of 15 senators, for example. For a political party to put 15 representatives in parliament, it must get at least 1 million votes. The president alone holds this possibility. The president must be fully aware of the use of these powers."

[Question] Sir, is the president not at all responsible to any person or office in this matter?

Caglayanil gave the following explanation in answer to this question:

"That the Constitution places no restriction whatsoever on the president in his selection of 15 senators cannot be taken to mean he picks anybody he wants," he said, "The most difficult powers are unconditional and unrestricted powers. Those selected in this way may be considered the standard of ability to aim for in elections."

Caglayanil noted also that "in addition to his recorded powers, the president also has the power deriving from the office."

"The head of state swears to 'preserve the integrity and independence of the country and the nation and to preserve the Constitution,' but it is wrong to fall into a quandary over what powers he will use to accomplish this," he said, "In addition to his written powers, the president also has the powers deriving from the office. He has influence."

[Question] How far do they extend, sir?

[Answer] His own wisdom, insight and ability determine their extent and scope.

Caglayanil then expressed his views on the duties and powers of the president as follows:

"The president selects the prime minister, appoints the ministers and signs decrees of the persons to be put in key state positions, he said, "It is the chief duty of the president to see that those placed in these positions are people who will uphold the principles of the oath he took when he was elected president and who will not abuse them. The president must also ascribe special importance to this in the laws passed."

Caglayangil summed up as follows his views on whether the president has adequate authority to carry out his duties:

"If you ask me, leaving aside the shortage of safety valves in every [as published] democratic system, the present powers of the president in our Constitution are not inadequate for him to carry out the tasks which fall to him."

"If you are elected president, what national problems do you think should be taken up with priority? And how would you contribute to the solution of these problems," I asked. Before answering my questions, Caglayangil recalled the following quotation from Ataturk:

"Ataturk once said, 'The reason for being of governments is to preserve the peace and provide for the public tranquillity.'"

He then explained this quotation in terms that the younger generations can understand [Quotation is in Ottoman-like Turkish of the turn of the century. Caglayangil's explanation is in modern Turkish];

"Ataturk says that the reason for being of governments is, first of all, to keep peace and ensure the safety and tranquillity of the people. As in all of Ataturk's views, a plain truth lies here. Turkey's major problem is providing and maintaining peace and security. It is possible with a strong and stable government. The president plays the most effective role in the formation of the government. The head of state must provide leadership in preparing the climate in which such a government may be formed and in removing obstacles. If the mounting terrorism and anarchy threatening the unity and integrity of our nation were to be opposed with all the power of the state and the combined understanding of the constitutional institutions, there is no doubt but that this calamity could be handled.

"If this could be done, I believe that our economic ills and disparate views could be tied to a solution among us without affecting the existence of the state."

Caglayangil, one of the 11 persons nominated for the presidency by MILLIYET readers as a result of our poll, "Who Should Be President," told the story of his life as follows:

"I obtained my middle and high school education at the Saint Joseph French Academy and the Istanbul Boys' Lycee. I completed the Istanbul University Faculty of Law. I was awarded an honorary professorship by the University of Korea. I began my service to the state in the Interior Ministry. I worked for almost 30 years in the various echelons of this ministry, in the security directorates, in the district offices, in the governorships. I taught career courses at the High Police Institute and the police college. I taught most of today's governors and high-level security officers. In

1960, I retired as governor of Bursa. I was elected senator from Bursa in October 1961. I have been in parliament since that day.

"I was minister of labor in the Urguplu cabinet and minister of foreign affairs in the Demirel governments. I was elected chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee in 1971 and speaker of the Senate of the Republic in 1979. This is my present job. This, briefly, is the story of my life."

Permit us to add the most recent job, which Caglayangil "forgot" in his "life story":

Because he is speaker of the Senate, Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil has been serving -- for the past 2 months -- as president of the republic until a new president is elected.

8349

CSO: 4907

TEXT OF LIBYAN TRADE PROTOCOL

Ankara RESMI GAZETE in Turkish 23 May 80 pp 4-7

[Text] Protocol (I) Between the Republic of Turkey and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

Ankara, 25-27 March 1980

Talks were held from 25 to 27 March 1980 between the visiting Libyan delegation, headed by Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya Secretary of Economy 'Abu Zayd 'Umar Durdah, and the Turkish delegation, headed by Cochairman of the Turkish-Libyan Joint Economic Commission, Minister of State Ekrem Cayhun for the purpose of strengthening the economic cooperation between Turkey and Libya.

Members of the delegation who participated in the talks are listed in Appendix I and Appendix 2.

The talks were held within the framework of the Turkish-Libyan Trade and Financial Cooperation Agreement of 2 May 1978, and the parties reviewed bilateral economic relations, studied various matters related to the practical aspects [of the agreement] and agreed on the following as the 1980 implementation of the said agreement:

Trade

1. Following is a list of commodities and products that the Republic of Turkey pledged to export to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya during 1980 within the framework of the Trade and Financial Cooperation Agreement signed by the two countries:

Type	Quantity (Tons)
Wheat	300,000
Barley	100,000
Flour	100,000
Tomato Sauce (5 kg. containers)	7,000

Tomato sauce (1/2 kg. containers)	8,000
Olive oil	5,000
Sheep for sacrifice (125-150 heads)	6,000
Mutton (as of 1 July 1980)	2,400
Fruit	10,000

2. The Turkish side offered to export 500 tons of chickpeas and the Jamahiriya side accepted the offer.

3. The Turkish side proposed to sell cement. The Jamahiriya side will dispatch the Cement Purchase Institute [officials] to Turkey late April, and the two sides will discuss the conditions of the sale and finalize the deal.

4. Both parties will make efforts to buy, or to sell, the commodities on the list appended to the Minutes, signed after the 26-31 January 1980 talks in Tripoli, and several new commodities.

5. It was agreed that a delegation of Turkish manufacturers and exporters will visit the Jamahiriya on a date to be named in the future. The visit will be coordinated by the Association of Turkish Chambers.

Construction Services

1. Construction of 300 prefabricated houses:

a. A Turkish delegation will visit Libya in mid-April for purposes listed below:

*To conduct a survey and a study at project sites.

*The cost of the project was calculated as LD2,343,842 at 1979 unit prices. The actual project cost will be discussed and calculated anew in the light of the rising costs in Turkey, the rate of increase over 1979 in shipping costs, and the cost of foundation-laying which will vary according to the location of the project. The Turkish delegation will supply documents to verify the cost increases in Turkey.

*[The Turkish delegation] will present a detailed work schedule, which will include a timetable for the shipment of the required machinery and supplies and the completion of the construction.

b. The Libyan side will

*Provide for the waiver of import taxes, customs duties, storage charges and other port fees and expenses, and agreement fees on the machinery and supplies which will be shipped to Libya for the construction project.

*The Libyan side asked Turkey to take over the construction of the infrastructure also. Both parties noted that this was a new proposal. The new proposal will be discussed and finalized during the Turkish delegation's visit to Libya.

2. Construction of 2,000-classroom school buildings:

A Turkish delegation will visit Libya in the third week of April for purposes listed below:

*The cost of the project was calculated as LD21,350,000 at 1979 unit prices. The actual project cost will be discussed and a final figure determined by also taking into account Libya's official 1980 unit prices.

*Construction of 3,000 houses, which is a new project, will also be discussed and a contract drawn up.

3. Construction of the 45-kilometer Tarhunah-Mussallah highway and a 16-kilometer new road:

Construction of the 45-km road was interrupted for the following reasons:

a) The Libyan side must

*Deliver without delay the project covering the last 3 kilometers of the road,

*The project covering the additional construction, such as the banks, etc. on both sides of the road, and

*The project covering the exits and intersections on the road.

*Relocate elsewhere the water pipes and telephone lines intersecting the road.

*Assist the TCK [presumably the Turkish commission] in the purchase of iron, cement and asphalt.

*Present to the TCK by mid-April the final decision on the new 16-km road project.

b) The Turkish side

*Informed that the TCK will rapidly place the road signs when exits and intersections on the road are determined, and

*The 45-km road will be completed as rapidly as possible following the delivery by Libya the projects referred to under paragraph "a" above.

*Requested, on account of the delays due to the reasons mentioned above, an 11-month extension to the project, which will move the completion date to March 1981.

Both the 45-km road and the 16-km new road will be completed within the specified period of time.

4. Both sides agreed that the amount which will be due to the Turkish Public Institutions as a result of the contracts with the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will go, after the deduction of the foreign exchange expenses of the Turkish institutions, to the repayment of the Turkish Republic's debts to the Jamahiriya, as provided for under the 2 May 1978 Trade and Financial Cooperation Agreement. The remainder will be deposited, as directed by the agreement, to the Turkish Central Bank account No 2 in the Libyan Arab Foreign Trade Bank in the Jamahiriya.

Coordination and Followup

In order to ensure the orderly and efficient handling of the matters specified herein, both sides agree to assume the following responsibilities:

1. On the Turkish side:

*The necessary coordination will be provided for under the leadership of the Turkish-Libyan Joint Economic Commission Cochairman Minister of State Ekrem Ceyhan, so that services in connection with the aforementioned matters will be performed on time.

*Should a problem arise, the ambassador of the Jamahiriya in Ankara, and the ambassador of Turkey in Tripoli will promptly inform Mr Ceyhan of the difficulty.

*Should an uncontrollable and unavoidable development take place during the implementation of this protocol, the Republic of Turkey will promptly inform the Jamahiriya of the said development, and the disruption in the implementation caused by the said development will be rectified rapidly.

2. On the Libyan side:

*Every effort will be made to enable the Turkish public and private organizations working in the Jamahiriya to perform the services specified in this Protocol, to complete said services without delay and in an efficient manner.

This Protocol was signed in two copies, one in Turkish and one in Arabic, both of which are of equal validity, in Ankara on 27 March 1980 (10 Cumaeul 'ahir 1389, the year of the Prophet's death).

For the government of the Republic of
Turkey
Ekrem Ceyhan

For the Socialist People's Libyan
Arab Jamahiriya
'Abu Zayd 'Umar Durdah

Turkish Delegation

Ekrem Ceyhan, Minister of State, Chairman of the delegation
Mustafa Asula, Turkish Ambassador to Tripoli

Necdet Seckinoz, Counselor of the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources

Ismael Heral, Counselor of the Ministry of Commerce

Ihsan Senar, Assistant Counselor of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing

Turkut Tuncay, Secretary General of Foreign Trade, Ministry of Commerce

Nurver Nurea, Director General of Bilateral Economic Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ibrahim Unlu, Director General of Treaties, Ministry of Commerce

Gazi Erceci, Assistant Director General of the Treasury, Ministry of Finance

Onur Oymen, Chief of the Bilateral Economic Affairs Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Omer Zeytinoglu, Group Chief of the Bilateral Economic Affairs Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Guler Izmirlioglu, Chief of the Long-Range Planning Branch, State Planning Organization

Naci Tibet, Deputy Chairman of the Turkish Central Bank

Mehmet Yazar, Chairman of the Turkish Chambers Association

Col Mustafa Dayar, Deputy Chief of the Defense Industry and Technical Services Department, Ministry of National Defense

Libyan Delegation

'Abu Zayd 'Umar Durdah, Minister of Economy, Chairman of the Libyan delegation

Mustapha A. az-Zigallai, Director General of the NASCA [expansion unknown]

Rajab M. Al-Kish, Agricultural Products Marketing Institute

Muhammad F. Morgham, Secretary of the People's Committee, National Institute of Meat and Livestock

Muhammad Tahir Yusif, Ministry of Petroleum

Ibrahim Khalifa Al-Hellawi, Libyan Arab External Bank

Mustapha Draid, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Muphtah Hadi Merzugi, Ministry of Housing

Ashour E. Ebais, Ministry of Economy

Mustapha Ali Fadal, Ministry of Economy

Rajab Mikraz, War Industry Institute

Wanis A. Fallah, Military Procurement Office

GROWTH OBSERVED IN PRIVATE SECTOR RELATIONS WITH TARIS

Sales to Private Concerns

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 26 May 80 p 4

[Text] Izmir (CUMHURİYET Aegean Bureau) -- TARIS [Agricultural Workers Union] has reportedly been selling its stocks of seedless raisins both on terms and prepaid to the private sector at losing prices in order for the exporters to regain respect on the foreign markets. TARIS has sold 3 million kilograms at the market to the private sector in recent weeks, it was revealed.

Stating that all processed produce had been put in storage before the TARIS no 1 and 2 grape processors went on strike 10 May, Director General Ismail Hakki Gurun said at a press conference that they had begun selling on the Izmir Exchange. He said that they had planned to make the early sales on terms but the 3 percent interest seemed too high and they would be selling prepaid. After that, TARIS began making prepaid sales on the Exchange. However, some firms have bought a portion of the amounts for which they are committed abroad on terms and some prepaid.

One former administrator, evaluating TARIS' ignoring some of its foreign agreements and selling at the Exchange in order to bail out the private sector, said, "It is attracting notice that these sales are being made to concerns which cooperate with international monopolistic companies. Among them is Ismail Hakki Gurun's closest friend, Alpaslan Besikcioglu." The former administrator, who said that Ismail Hakki Gurun had been on friendly terms with these people when he was deputy director general of the fig union, said this had resulted in the private sector's initiatives. The former TARIS administrator gave the following information on the matter:

"Private sector exporters working on behalf of monopolistic companies made commitments for exports of seedless raisins from last year's crop and began competing with each other to buy the quality grapes on hand at TARIS for the purpose of obtaining new markets. At first TARIS was pressured to sell on terms. When this was not forthcoming, they began prepaid trading.

"Of TARIS' 10,000 tons of stocks, 3,000 tons have been sold on the Exchange to the private sector. It looks as though these sales will continue. In addition, TARIS is unable to fulfill some of the commitments it had made earlier because of these sales. TARIS is risking the loss of its own markets so that the private sector can regain its lost respect and has turned its processing plants into private sector warehouses."

Moreover, the strike continues at the TARIS no 1 and 2 grape processing plants and the vinegar factory which was begun on 10 May by the DISK [Confederation of Revolutionary Worker Unions] affiliate, Gıda-Is [Turkish Food Industry Workers Union]. Union officials accuse management of failing to do anything. The workers, meanwhile, say that they will stay on strike until they get their rights by legal means and criticize the JP [Justice Party] minority government. They have said, in summary:

"The JP government caused incidents to break out at the TARIS processing plants, then closed them down, and now it is trying to turn them over to the private sector on the pretext that they are not in operation. It looks as though their efforts have begun to produce results. We as workers will stand up for the plants and demand our rights."

Thread Factory Operations

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turk. 24 May 80 p 4

[Article by Baris Kudar]

[Text] Izmir -- The steps being taken to turn TARIS over to the private sector have begun to bear fruit, the first being at the Cigli Thread Factory which will begin operating on behalf of some private companies in fashion and other different areas, it was learned.

Herboy, Bati Tekstil, Safir, Pulcuoglu and BOSSA [expansion unknown] are the major private sector companies which wish to operate the TARIS Cigli Thread Factory to produce clothing for export. BOSSA officials, it was discovered, toured the Cigli factory to obtain information before it went into production at one-fourth capacity.

Initiatives

One company official, who did not want to be identified, said that efforts had begun last year for turning over the TARIS thread factory to the private sector. "According to the proposal made by the exporter unions, they wanted TARIS' Cigli Thread Factory to cooperate with the private sector in the production of clothing for export. This initiative, however, came to nothing," he said. The same official stated that negotiations had especially intensified after formation of the JP minority government, that first, the Istanbul-based Herboy Company had obtained raw materials from TARIS' Cigli Thread Factory for clothing manufacture and had it do fashion work.

Mentioning that such firms as Bati Tekstil, Safir and Pulcuoglu had been next in line, the official said that finally the BOSSA Company, owned by the Sabancis, made inquiries before the factory opened. He said the following, in summary:

"There was an exporters union proposal last year to the effect that TARIS should cooperate with private sector firms to produce clothing for export. This proposal went nowhere because of legal objections. However, as a result of the latest initiatives, it is understood that the thread factory, which has been shut down for 3 months, will not be able to operate at a profit. Herboy, Bati Tekstil, Safir, Pulcuoglu and BOSSA will first have fashion work done and try to take over the factory. These companies will need time for this. The determining factors during this time will be the factory's working order, labor problem and production."

Marketing Division Eliminated

In this context, a TARIS official, stating that elimination of the marketing division of the TARIS Cigli Thread Factory was one stage of the turnover procedures, said that getting the first 25,000-spindle division into operation meant nothing. He added that the 25,000-spindle division would be kept in operation for 5 weeks and it was planned to base the turnover to the private sector on the subsequent evaluations. "The best raw materials and fibers for use in clothing manufacture in Turkey are produced by the [Cigli] Thread Factory. The private sector companies, unable to find raw materials of adequate quality as regards cotton thread, will do everything they can for the turnover of the factory. The inspections by BOSSA representatives before the factory opened are a part of this," he said.

Cotton Stock Purchases

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 19 May 80 p 4

[Article by Baris Kudar]

[Text] After the exporter unions were informed by government circles that the fund deduction in cotton exports would be lifted, TARIS began selling on terms at the Izmir Exchange to the private sector. It was learned that 2 million kilograms of cotton were sold in the first lot to the private sector in this way. Sales reportedly will continue.

According to information obtained from Exchange circles, TARIS is selling on terms with interest rates as low as 4 percent or 5 percent. TARIS Director General Ismail Hakki Gurun confirmed at a recent press conference that term sales are being made and said that this had been started in seedless raisins and although the results were not successful it would continue in cotton. TARIS Director General Gurun maintained that the producer's rights were being protected in these sales and spoke as follows:

"We have to act like a broker. We must get the best return on our producers' products. To do this, we are selling on terms at 4 percent-5 percent interest. It is impossible otherwise to reduce such large stocks."

An officer of the exporter unions who did not wish to be identified said that they had been informed that the government's 41-lira fund on cotton exports would be lifted soon and, for this reason, the cotton which TARIS put on the Exchange for sale was purchased on terms. He said that the fund deduction was the single greatest reason for the drop in cotton exports. His statement was as follows:

"Cotton is \$1.83 per kilogram on foreign markets. Exports had lost their attraction at the present dollar exchange rate and with the fund deduction. There had been very little or no exportation because of this. However, there was a revival when the government reported that the fund would be lifted. To date, 48,507 tons of cotton have been exported. And most of this was by TARIS. We believe that this amount will go much higher soon with the expected 20 percent devaluation and lifting the fund."

Also, a former TARIS administrator, noting that processed grapes had been put in storage when the DISK-affiliated Gida-Is Union decided to strike at the grape processing plants, said, "Just as the directorate general jumped the gun on this and put seedless raisins under guarantee, it is trying to get union changes by putting pressures on the workers at the cotton warehouses also. If it is successful here, all the cotton stocks on hand will be turned over to the private sector. Thus TARIS will again be doing duty as the private sector's warehouse as it did during the old National Front periods. Director General Gurun says on one hand, 'We will protect the rights of the producing partner,' and on the other, 'We have to act like the private sector.' The private sector's goal is profits. You cannot apply big business philosophies in TARIS with its few workers. The nation's interests are borne in mind while getting the best return on the producing partner's produce. Not filling the pockets of a few individuals. In Demirel-Ozal thinking, these matters are for the benefit of making a few people rich on interest. TARIS ought to do its own exporting and ought to protect the rights of the producing partner."

8349

CSO: 4907

TURK-15, GOVERNMENT COME TO TERMS

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 30 May 80 pp 1, 15

[Text] Ankara (HURRIYET)--The Turk-Is [Confederation of Turkish Labor Unions] Administrative Board, which held an emergency meeting to name the "date and type" of protest action it plans to take, was given a pledge by Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel that "all problems will be resolved," upon which the board called off its protest plans. Prime Minister Demirel, speaking after the meeting which he also attended, said, "We are trying to resolve all the issues the Turk-Is has been critical of." He disclosed that the draft bills on seniority pay, the sliding-scale process and the agricultural and forestry workers will be withdrawn from the assembly. The seniority pay-related Communiqué No 125, issued by the Ministry of Finance will be rescinded. Mr Demirel added that "the amount due to workers will be paid as of 4 June," and a timetable will be prepared for the payments. The Turk-Is Administrative Board cancelled discussions scheduled on the date and the form of the protest action after the prime minister's announcements.

The prime minister's request for a meeting was relayed to the Turk-Is Executive Board during its meeting 2 days ago. The board members met the prime minister at night, and then, announced their decision to go ahead with the planned action. The prime minister, meanwhile, announced on his part that he would attend the meeting on the following day to brief the Administrative Board.

At the emergency meeting of the Turk-Is Administrative Board, the prime minister said, "We have always been careful to ensure the exercise of labor rights. To run into problems occasionally is nothing unusual in a large country. The important thing is to approach those problems with good intentions. Our government has always lived up to its responsibilities, we are committed to them now and we shall seek ways of doing the same in the future."

Turk-Is Demands

Following are the Turk-Is demands:

1. Rapid conclusion of contract negotiations, activation of the Coordination Board; 2. Improvements in the Seniority Pay Draft Law, cancellation of the Communiqué No 125 pertaining to seniority pay; 3. Adoption of the minimum subsistence allowance measure, guarantees on equitable taxation; 4. Payment of what is owed to workers, discontinuation of worker dismissal; 5. Withdrawal of the sliding-scale system draft bill; 6. Withdrawal of the agricultural and forest workers draft laws; 7. Improvements in the full-time work law; 8. Rapid enactment of the draft laws with a social content.

Demands Accepted

After the 90-minute meeting, Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel announced the following in response to the Turk-Is demands:

"1. Efforts will be made to bring to a speedy conclusion the contract negotiations affecting 290,000 workers, which are currently underway at 16 places of employment under KİT's [State Economic Enterprises]. I have assigned Minister of State Ahmet Karahan to the job. Steps will be taken to enable the Contract Coordination Board to function more effectively and negotiations will be brought to a rational conclusion.

"2. Exemption of the minimum subsistence allowance from tax has been discussed through the years. It was never resolved even though it was part of every party's program. We have found a 98 billion-lira fund to enable us to pass the minimum subsistence allowance bill. The draft law has already been cleared by the Budget Planning Committee. The presidential election does not paralyze the assembly. We will prepare a special agenda and pass the bill. It is about time that this issue is resolved.

"Money owed to workers come to 5 billion liras and payment will begin as of 4 June. The payments will be made according to a timetable.

"3. Seniority Pay Draft Law will be withdrawn from the assembly. The Ministry of Finance Communiqué No 125 [on seniority pay] will be amended, as we have agreed, in consideration of the Turk-Is recommendations.

"4. I listened to the concerns the Turk-Is voiced about the dismissal of workers. We do not want to take any action that might destroy a person's livelihood. By the same token, we refuse to support individuals who dynamite the foundations of the state. I have the matter under study.

"5. We will withdraw from the assembly the draft law the Turk-Is refers to as the sliding-scale process bill, which we call the Financial Stability Draft Law. We will take the Turk-Is' views into consideration in the re-writing of the draft. It will be resubmitted to the assembly after it takes its final form.

"6. The agricultural and forestry labor draft law, which we have already sent to the assembly, will be withdrawn. It will be resubmitted after consultation with the Turk-Is.

"7. The inoperable provisions of the full-time work law are known to us all. We have been unable to form health boards in 37 of our provinces for the lack of medical doctors. Some 212 physicians have resigned from Social Insurance Hospitals alone on account of the full-time principle. These flaws will be corrected.

"8. I doubt if we can pass some of the draft laws with a social content. That would require cooperation among parties. The Turkish Grand National Assembly has already finished its third year. No draft law will pass after 5 March 1981 [presumably because of approaching elections]. We will try to pass the laws if we have enough strength."

7244

CSO: 4907

PETROLEUM ENGINEERS LEAVING THE COUNTRY

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 2 Jun 80 pp 1, 15

[Text] Ankara (HURRIYET), Selma Tukul reporting--It is going to be increasingly difficult for the TPAO [Turkish Petroleum Corp.], whose function is to discover Turkey's petroleum capacity, to carry out its exploration and exploitation operations.

Over 50 of the TPAO's experienced and capable petroleum engineers, geologists and geophysicists emigrated from Turkey in the past 8 months. These were the people who, through the years, studied the country from one end to the other, all the way to its remotest corners, to find oil beds, and then, brought that oil to the surface. Their departure adds another bitter chapter to the ongoing "exodus."

A large number of these experts worked for many years under the scorching sun and in the biting cold, but are now moving on because of "unfulfilled expectations, financial difficulties, dissatisfaction and disappointment." They were offered jobs with excellent conditions by Canada, the United States and Britain. Some went abroad to work in the Libyan and Algerian deserts, and an equal number are in the process of leaving.

These Turkish technicians took their families and went to Algeria, Libya, Canada, Britain, the United States and to various African nations where they will receive a minimum of \$3,000 a month and where their employers pay their living expenses and educate their children in the United States. They work a continuous 6-week period and are given 2 months off. Their employer pays for their and their family's roundtrip ticket for a vacation flight to any country they choose.

Where Are They Going?

In contrast to the disinterest and ingratitude they had to endure at home, these experts found abroad an unusual appreciation of their experience and training, in addition to very satisfactory material gains. They were given high-level positions. Osman Unal, for example, who was the director of geology at the TPAO, and Ali Salih Ozen, a drilling engineer, and formerly

the chief of the TPAO's Drilling Service Group, are now at the head of the drilling department in Libya, and are directing the country's drilling operations. Another Turkish engineer, Savkat Guventurk, who made an electrographic study of the LOG [expansion unknown] wells in Turkey and is considered a top expert in that field, and Refik Uckuzular, who managed the foreign relations of the Exploration Department [of the TPAO], are in Algeria now where they were provided with excellent prospects and working conditions.

Demir Ozcanderli, chief of the Exploration Department's Computer Center, is in London where he works for a geophysics firm. This is a firm that the TPAO contracts and pays large fees. No doubt that henceforth the firm will add the Turkish technician's salary to the fee it charges the TPAO and Turkey will end up paying more, in dollars, for the firm's services. Meanwhile, the TPAO's Swiss-educated chief geologist Sezai Kozak, and the chief geologist for the southeastern Anatolia region Turgay Ugut have left for Canada.

U.S.-educated Suleyman Turgut, who worked for the TPAO many years, but under frustrating conditions, is in the United States, and Ahmet Bilgili, another petroleum engineer, who worked at the Ankara Drilling Regional Directorate, is in France.

Meanwhile, three key men from the Production Department of the TPAO are in the process of leaving and will be gone in the next few days. Having lost 25 of its 100 technicians, the TPAO's Exploration Department will have to operate at 25 percent capacity.

Why Are They Leaving?

They say, "Enough already!" and quietly pack up and leave their country. Some go as far as obtaining an immigration visa from Canada. The youngest among them has 10 years of experience. One contributing factor in their decision is the injustices stemming from labor contracts. Another, and equally important, factor is the inadequate pay. A geologist with 15 or 16 years of experience receives 14 or 16,000 liras [presumably a month], and an engineer, who has served 21 years, gets 17,000 liras.

The TPAO, which was established 25 years ago, employs 6,000 people. That figure includes everyone--workers, doormen, cooks, secretaries, engineers, geologists, geophysicists and others.

People close to the TPAO said, "Oil explorers should be considered artists because they have to reason and analyze as do artists or mathematicians. They must be given a special status." "Otherwise," they added, "the TPAO won't be able to hold on to its experienced and trained elements. Then, it will cease to function."

PROMISSORY NOTE SYSTEM DESIRED

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 24 May 80 p 5

[Text] The Ministry of Finance, it has been learned, is considering a new type of demand deposit designed to attract the secret and idle money outside of the banking system.

According to this procedure, which is still widely practiced in America under the name "Certificate of Deposit" the person who deposits his money in the bank would receive a note in return inscribed "payable to the bearer." The term of this note could vary from a few days to six months or more. The bank will show the money it receives as deposits against these notes together with its other accounts and will make the deposit reserves at the Central Bank at the required rate.

Since the notes will be inscribed "pay to the bearer" the bank will never know who deposited the money and no record will be maintained regarding the depositor. In this way it is thought to attract the "unaccounted for" money which up until now has never entered the banks. As everyone knows, in Turkey, contrary to the practice in lots of other countries, bank accounts are open to inspection by the Ministry of Finance, which occasions a certain amount of reserve on the part of would be depositors. It is being said that this new "pay to the bearer" procedure will do away with this hesitancy.

Money Supply Will Increase

According to statements of the experts the new system will create a new resource for the banks and for the Central Bank and will indirectly constitute an influence leading to an increase in the total supply of money. When money which has been held back from circulation enters the banking system it will increase the coefficient, referred to as the "money multiplier." That is to say it will lead to a greater total money supply (banknotes plus deposits) by adding to the amount of banknotes already issued by the Central Bank. In addition the circulation of the endorsed notes which have been issued by the banks -a widespread practice in America- will also speed up the circulation of money.

Low Interest

At the same time it is considered that the interest accorded these notes ought to be lower than that accorded to comparable deposit accounts and it is stated that a lower rate will be quite acceptable in the market, because the fact that they may be endorsed over to others and have a high degree of liquidity gives them a significant advantage over normal deposit accounts.

Interest may be included in the amount of the note as issued at the time of the deposit or else a separate note may be issued to cover it.

With respect to the matter of taxation the Ministry of Finance is contemplating withholding a portion of the interest on these bonds proportionate to the average rate of income taxation.

Although banks in general support this new system it was learned that some bankers were hesitant due to the risks to bank liquidity which could arise from issuing notes for terms of six months or less.

When we approached the Director General of the Garanti Bankasi, Erol Aksoy, on this question he said that a risk of this sort was not at issue, as the long practice in America had demonstrated, because the demand for the new notes had always exceeded the amount presented for cash, which insured that the amount of money being deposited always exceeded that being withdrawn.

On the other hand it was learned that the "payable to bearer" deposit account procedure was formerly practiced in Turkey, and that bank books were endorsed over and passed from hand to hand 15-20 years ago, but that this practice was subsequently abandoned.

9353

CSO: 4907

'CUMHURIYET' ALLEGES FINANCIAL FAVORS FOR HEMA CORPORATION

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 28 May 80 pp 1,9

[Article by Ugur Mumcu]

[Text] You must have read it in the newspapers; money amounting to as much as 5 billion TL owed to government workers cannot be paid, annuitants are unable to collect their pensions, because the government does not have any money to pay their retired workers...It won't be apportioned, says our commendable government to its workers and annuitants, like a "bankrupt tradesman," and "What can we do, there is no money...the rains came, things are like that!"

I have a document in my hand bearing the seal of the Social Security Organization [SSK]. The SSK Board of Directors, according to letter number 023110 dated 14 March 1980, agreed to the installment payment by the renowned HEMA Corporation of a sum of 13 million 867 thousand 78 lira and 48 kurus representing its premium obligations [To SSK]; HEMA will pay this sum installment by installment. I am looking at the signature on this letter, Chief Legal Advisor Necla Kapanli...who is she? She is the wife of the Justice Party's Turan Kapanli and sister-in-law of the TERCUMAN writer Nazli Ilicak.

The SSK Board of Directors, by resolution number 9/702, dated 14 February 1980, committed itself to receive installment payment of these premium obligations of the HEMA Hydraulic Machinery Corporation at a time when money is bringing interest rates as high as 41 percent and is making it easy for this corporation to pay its obligations. This privilege is not peculiar to the HEMA Corporation, it is accorded quite a few fat-cat corporations.

HEMA first applied to have its premium obligations handled in this manner in June of 1979. While the Ecevit government was in office no action was taken on this application, but as soon as the Demirel government took office the corporation was granted this favor.

As everyone knows, the processing of the case relating to an improper billion TL loan to the HEMA conglomerate has been shelved.

At the present time the building which is nearly side by side with the Ankara Grand Hotel, and which is owned by HEMA is being rented by the Directorate

General of the Turkish Radio and Television [TRT]. The building, which had previously been rented by the Ministry of Youth and Sports for an annual rent of 1 million 600 thousand, has been rented by the TRT for 20 million, and it is said that payment of five years rent has been agreed upon.

As yet we have not been able to get our hands on a copy of the rental agreement between HEMA and the Directorate General of TRT, but we know that a number of units attached to the TRT Directorate General have moved into this building.

If such an agreement has been made between HEMA and TRT then this means that new possibilities have been accorded this renowned firm.

The HEMA conglomerate has obtained from ETIBANK alone a credit of 923 million 400 thousand 306 lira. Of course, millions in credits have also been obtained from other banks. But the interesting side to this matter is the the "Anter Corporation," which is owned by the Demirel family, shows up as "guarantor" in the correspondence relating to this credit and in the "letter of guarantee."

Shall we call this the "old boy network" or what?"

At a time when the government is unable to pay its obligations to its annuitants the State banks are extending millions and millions of TL to private corporations; the same corporations are being allowed to conveniently space out their payments into the social security system at a time when money is bringing interest rates in excess of 40 percent.

You know the articles in the penal law which start with, "One social class over other social classes..." Well, these articles keep coming to mind when contemplating these issues above.

"The domination of one social class over other social classes..." is effected somewhat in this manner in our country; do not give seniority payments to the workers, but insure that the big corporations with political clout obtain credits, are accorded every opportunity...

What do they say?

The private sector is the nice sector...

9353

9401 2007

JP DEPUTIES ATTEND 'SULEYMANIST' CONGRESS IN GERMANY

Istanbul : 'HURİYET' in Turkish 28 May 80 pp 1, 5

[Article by Yagmur Atsız]

[Text] The "Suleymancilar Tarikati," established in 211 cities of the Federal Republic of Germany under the name of "Islamic Cultural Centers," held their second annual general assembly meeting in the city of Hagen on Saturday.

The following JP notables addressed congratulatory messages to the meeting from Ankara:

Battal Kuntay (Minister of Tourism and Orientation), Nahit Mentese (JP Secretary General and Deputy for Aydın), Bahri Dagdas (Kars) and Ali Naili Erdem (Izmir)...

The following JP parliamentarians participated in person:

Kemal Kacar (Deputy for Istanbul and son-in-law of the founder of the organization, Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan), Saban Karakas (Konya), Cevdet Akcali (Adana), Kamuran Caliskan (Icel) and Ali Ak (Head of the Federation of Kur'an courses and Deputy for Icel)...

In addition, the Christian Democratic Deputy Albrecht Hasinger sent a congratulatory message to the meeting and a deputy from the same party, Hans Feymann took part in person.

Albrecht Hasinger is a German politician who has for a long time maintained close ties with Turkish employer circles in the Federal Republic of Germany and is a founding member of an association by the name of "Hur-Turk" founded by owners of Export-Import shops.

"What are the Suleymancilar?"

The Suleymancilik Tarikati was established by Hilmi Tunahan (1888-1959), a Rumanian Turk who later emigrated to Istanbul. The members of the Tarikat [religious order] claim that they should be referred to as "Suleymanli" [Suleymanist], rather than "Suleymanci" [follower of Suleyman].

The members of the Tarikat believe that Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan "is of the line of the Prophet, the last and the greatest of the saints, who did not die, but ascended to the sky from whence he directs us. As for the Disciples, they are the army of the Messiah."

The Suleymancilar believe that the Islamic legal system must be reestablished in Turkey. They do not hide the fact that a deep-rooted rivalry exists between them and the NSP-oriented National Orientation Organization [Milli Gorus Teskilati].

During the Second World War, the "Suleymancilar" asserted that Hitler was a Muslim and that he would overthrow the "godless Inonu" government. They formed a unit under the leadership of the Mufti of Jerusalem and fought with various units in Yugoslavia against Tito's partisans.

9354

CSO: 4907

BILL TO MAKE INEXPENSIVE LAND AVAILABLE

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 25 May 80 p 3

[Text] In a bill entitled "National Housing Policy Enabling Legislation" presented to the Parliament by the Council of Ministers the government wants the authority to make changes in a number of articles of certain laws. Under this bill banks would set aside 5 percent of their deposits for housing credits. Furthermore State organizations, banks, labor unions and municipalities would be permitted to participate in the capitalization of companies formed for housing construction. Also organizations employing certain workers would be obliged to construct housing for their personnel.

Facilitating Measures to be Introduced

The benefits to be obtained from this enabling legislation are summarized as follows in the bill:

"This enabling legislation provides for assistance to low and middle income groups in acquiring home ownership, for expanding the improved areas of shantytown districts, for the acceleration of infrastructure services and for legal measures to introduce practical solutions to deed registration formalities. The aim on one hand is to spare present state resources from being overextended and on the other hand to create new resources by encouraging and rewarding the utilization of savings for the purpose of providing housing for our citizens, bringing all the banks into the building and loan system, mobilizing the private sector to make up for inadequate State resources, and redefining the parameters for establishing and building new housing areas by reviewing all building standards. Measures have been provided for to cover State support for the building of collective housing and industrial construction. Principles are adopted which take into consideration settlement and urbanization policies and the reorganization of urban areas consistent with these aims, the minimizing of taxes and duties related to construction and acquisition of dwellings, and the simplification of procedures in these matters. Also called for are measures to enable our citizens working abroad to acquire and own dwellings in their homeland easily and with confidence.

Land which Is Being Kept Vacant

According to the bill city areas due for priority development in the future will be opened to settlement after timely planning in advance. In order to prevent privately owned property in the planned areas from being kept idle for long periods and for speculative purposes taxes would be made increasingly heavy after a specified period of time and if necessary expropriation authority would be used.

Collective housing promotional certificates are to be given to collective dwelling organizations by the Ministry of Redevelopment and Housing. They will operate under the supervision of the Ministry. Upon certification of their plan projects these organizations will be accorded priority and facility in the procurement of basic construction materials and in benefiting from credits. Industries producing building materials which conform to standards are to be encouraged, and private industrial enterprises employing a prescribed number of workers are to be obliged to have their facilities approved in advance and to set aside resources for worker housing.

All banks are to provide housing credits to those who open housing savings accounts. Interest rates on credits to be given to these persons are to be lowered in accordance with their income levels and whether or not they are home owners. This difference is to be financed from the general budget. Home-buyers in this category are to be exempted from the real estate purchase tax, and the notes pertaining to their dwellings are to be approved for rediscount procedures. Exemption is to be granted also in the case of interest accruing to housing credits (taxes on bank and insurance transactions). Credits provided from State resources and extended by State organizations are to be collected in the Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası [Real Estate Bank], which is to administer these credits within an integrated program.

Persons deprived of the opportunity to save for a home by reason of their income will be allocated inexpensive building plots and afforded technical and material assistance so that they may build their own houses. Inexpensive and convenient habitation centers are to be established in urban areas, in conformance with city plans, where those who are in the process of constructing squatters shanties can have their activity legitimized.

Special projects are to be prepared to enable our citizens who are working abroad to become home-owners, these dwellings are to be constructed by a specified date and at a specified price on a foreign exchange and installment plan basis. The State and private organizations which are to carry on this business are to be accorded the means to set up a marketing organization abroad.

SEVERE DECLINE NOTED IN USE OF MINING SECTOR CAPACITY

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 26 May 80 p 4

[Text] In 1979, utilization of capacity in the mining sector declined by 51.3 percent in comparison with the previous year — falling to 39 percent; over the same period, the decline in capacity utilized was only 8.7 percent in the finished metal products sector.

According to the results of a study on "The State of Industrial Production and Capacity Utilization in 1979" carried out by the Research Group of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry, only three sectors out of all the various branches of industry utilized 50 percent or more of their capacity in 1979. The decline in utilization was most severe in the mining sector, in which a capacity utilization of approximately 80 percent had been achieved in 1978. Capacity utilization also declined by 24 to 36 percent in the textile, clothing, and leather goods industries, the food, drink, and tobacco industries, the wood products industry, and the automotive industry.

It was stressed in the study that employer-employee relations had not played a major role in the decline in capacity utilization. The study, which also noted that capacity utilization had suffered most severely in those branches of industry which are most dependent upon foreign inputs, stressed the fact that shortages of raw materials and the petroleum crisis, in particular, had caused the drop in capacity utilization.

A comparison of capacity utilization for 1978 and 1979 in the various industrial sectors of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry, as well as the dimensions of the decline, is presented in the following table:

SECTOR	CAPACITY UTILIZATION 1978	CAPACITY UTILIZATION 1979	PERCENT CHANGE
Mining	80.0	39.0	-51.3
Food - Drink - Tobacco	76.3	57.5	-24.6
Textiles - Clothing - Leather Products	62.3	44.8	-28.1
Wood Products	71.9	45.7	-36.4
Paper and Paper Products	56.9	50.4	-11.4
Chemicals	50.1	40.9	-18.4
Stone and Earth Products	65.2	56.0	-14.1
Basic Metals	54.7	40.0	-26.9
Finished Metal Products	50.5	46.1	- 8.7
Automotive Industry	54.3	40.5	-25.4
Other Manufactured Products	57.5	43.7	-24.0
Weighted Average	55.8	45.0	-19.4

9175

1980: 4907

INFLATION RATE NOT EXPECTED TO DROP BELOW 85 PERCENT

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 18 May 80 p 4

[Text] Ankara: According to indices current as of the end of March, it is estimated that the general price level, which exhibited an average increase of 63.7 percent during 1979, will increase by 85 percent in the year 1980.

The calculation that the average rise in the general price level will be 85 percent in 1980 is based upon the assumption that there will be no price increases after the month of March. According to calculations made in accordance with the index values for the general price level included in the indices of the Trade Ministry's Marketing and Publications Directorate, it is plain that even if there is no rise whatsoever in the general price level after March, the average price level will still exhibit an 85-percent increase during 1980.

Erroneous Assumption

Noting that, when one looks at the fact that prices increased by a total of 47.3 percent during the first three months of 1980, the assumption that there will be no rise in the general price level over the remaining nine months is clearly incorrect, officials point out that if the monthly price increase should average only 2 percent from March to December, the total increase for the year would be 76 percent. Furthermore, if the March 1980 to December 1980 increase should equal the increase during the same period of 1979 — that is, a 30-percent increase in 9 months — then the total increase for the year would be 92 percent, while the average annual rate of increase would work out to 107 percent.

Meanwhile, it appears inconceivable for the annual rate of increase in the general price level to be held at the 50-percent level. In order for such a rate to be maintained, it would be necessary for price decreases of approximately 60 percent to occur during the remaining nine

months of 1980 -- the period March through December. Under the present circumstances, it would appear absurd to expect such an eventuality.

No Price Decreases Expected

Stating that no decreases in the general price level are expected except for the seasonal declines in agricultural products, officials also said that no declines in market prices, which were included in the indices and are all official prices, are expected during the year either. It is stated that price increases are considered essential for the IDT's Economic State Enterprises vis-a-vis those goods which were removed from the classification of essential goods and services by the 25 January decrees of the Council of Ministers, and that the price adjustments which have taken place in the Meat and Fish Association Directorate General, Turkish Airlines, and the Sugar Corporation are but concrete examples of this.

In view of the announcement by the government that the IDT's have deficits of 150 billion lira despite the price increases that have already been made, and that these deficits will be made up within market conditions, it is expected that there will be new and major increases in the general price level during the nine-month period from March to December; consequently, it appears that, under these conditions, a three-digit inflation rate for 1980 is inevitable.

MONTHS	NO INCREASE	2% MONTHLY INCREASE	3% MONTHLY INCREASE
January	1722.9	1722.9	1722.9
February	2227.9	2227.9	2227.9
March	2325.7	2325.7	2325.7
April	2325.7	2372.2	2395.5
May	2325.7	2419.6	2467.3
June	2325.7	2468.0	2541.4
July	2325.7	2517.4	2617.6
August	2325.7	2567.7	2696.1
September	2325.7	2619.1	2777.0
October	2325.7	2671.5	2860.3
November	2325.7	2724.9	2946.2
December	2325.7	2779.4	3034.5

The first column of figures illustrates the general price index on the assumption that no increase in prices will occur after the month of March.

The second column illustrates the general price index on the assumption that prices will increase by two percent per month after March.

The third column illustrates the general price index on the assumption that prices will increase by three percent per month after the month of March.

9173
CSO: 4907

STATISTICS ON DEAD, INJURED DURING DEMIREL'S TERM

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 7 Jun 80 p 5

[Text] Ankara: During the first six months of the minority Demirel government, 1,553 people died and 1,918 were wounded in political violence.

The distribution of the slain and the wounded according to the various provinces is as follows:

PROVINCE	NUMBER OF DEAD	NUMBER OF WOUNDED
Adana	96	97
Adiyaman	8	3
Afyon	1	1
Agri	12	14
Amasya	9	17
Ankara	147	245
Antalya	19	38
Artvin	14	13
Aydin	11	5
Balikesir	2	3
Bilecik	none	none
Bingol	2	none
Bitlis	none	1
Bolu	none	none
Burdur	none	none
Bursa	25	28
Canakkale	1	3
Cankiri	none	4
Corum	13	17
Denizli	5	16
Diyarbakir	42	35
Edirne	5	1

Elazığ	12	32
Erzincan	2	5
Erzurum	6	11
Sakisehir	27	30
Gaziantep	62	38
Giresun	9	13
Cumushane	3	1
Hakkari	none	none
Hatay	38	48
Isparta	1	1
Icel	42	47
Istanbul	379	294
Izmir	36	326
Kars	26	7
Kastamonu	1	3
Kayseri	53	43
Kirklareli	1	none
Kirsehir	1	none
Kocaeli	7	17
Konya	17	81
Kutahya	2	2
Malatya	24	10
Manisa	19	39
Kahramanmaraş	11	10
Mardin	45	25
Muğla	1	none
Mus	3	4
Nevşehir	2	8
Niğde	1	7
Ordu	27	29
Rize	2	8
Sakarya	4	1
Samsun	45	43
Siirt	26	9
Sinop	4	none
Sivas	1	3
Tekirdağ	none	none
Tokat	24	37
Trabzon	26	39
Tunceli	11	10
Urfa	110	29
Uşak	17	20
Van	7	8
Yozgat	2	23
Zonguldak	4	11

9173

CSO: 4907

BATUR CANDIDACY CREATES RIFT IN NSP

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 6 Jun 80 pp 1,9

[Text] Ankara: Differences of opinion, which have surfaced within the NSP [National Salvation Party] over the topics of support for the government and election of a President, led to a dispute yesterday between NSP-member Yasar Gocmen and NSP General Secretary Oguzhan Asilturk in the chamber of the General Assembly during the voting for a President.

Gocmen and Asilturk, who when the voting began had been sitting and talking to each other excitedly within the NSP ranks, suddenly jumped from their seats and pushed and shoved each other; then they began to fight. Thereupon, all the NSP Parliamentarians leapt to their feet and separated the two. They also removed Gocmen from the Assembly chamber.

It has since been learned that Gocmen had been displeased for some time with certain practices that have been carried out in his province, and that he had opposed and spoken out against the decision of the NSP General Administrative Board on the topic of ending NSP support for the government.

Gocmen's Statement

Proceeding to a press agency after the fight and issuing a statement there, Yasar Gocmen said that "Asilturk, our party's General Secretary, has been endeavoring to deny my freedom of action and to change my vote. The intent has been to directly take away both my freedom of action and the vote of the constituency which I represent. I want everyone -- including the leader of my party delegation -- to adhere to the Constitutional principle of a secret ballot." To journalists who inquired as to whether Asilturk had wanted him to vote for Batur or for Turun, Gocmen answered that "The orientation of the leadership is clear. I don't want to engage in polemics over names."

To a reporter who asked who the constituency was that Gocmen represented, Gocmen responded as follows:

"we are people who have fought for years against a certain type of mentality. There are quite a few people who think as we do." Cocmen did not answer journalists who asked how many people this group comprised. Responding to a question as to what sort of reaction he would show to Asilturk's pressures, he said that "Our reaction will be to resist any name's being imposed on us." In answer to questions as to whether this would mean a split in the NSP, Cocmen said that "This isn't a situation that was planned in advance."

Talk with Demirel

A while after the fight between Asilturk and Cocmen, NSP Bitlis Assembly Member Muhyettin Mutlu and Mardin Assembly Member Abdulkadir Timuragaoglu spoke with JP [Justice Party] General Chairman Suleyman Demirel in the General Assembly of the Grand National Assembly.

Buyukkorukcu Resigns

After the altercation between Yasar Cocmen and Oguzhan Asilturk, it was learned that Konya Representative Tahir Buyukkorukcu, active in the NSP and known to be from the same group as Yasar Cocmen, had resigned from the NSP General Administrative Board. It is stated that Tahir Buyukkorukcu is a member of the Nakshibendi dervish order, and that his resignation from the NSP General Administrative Board is significant from this standpoint.

9173

CSG: 4907

LETTER OF INTENT WITH IMF PREPARED

Istanbul HURRIYAT in Turkish 4 Jun 80 pp 1,17

[Text] Ankara: A "letter of intent" has been drawn up with regard to Turkey's request for credit in the sum of 1.2 billion dollars in Special Drawing Rights within the framework of the 3-year "expanded financing arrangements" worked out with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and waiting has begun for the final decisions to become clear on the topics of devaluation, fuel-price increases, and interest rates in order for the letter to be signed and sent to the IMF.

According to the "letter of intent" which has been drawn up, a large portion of the credit requested will be obtained from the resources of the IMF's Supplementary Financing Facilities in order to support the strict economic stabilization program which Turkey has adopted.

Controversy over Devaluation

The "letter of intent", on which agreement was reached with IMF officials by Turgut Ozal, Undersecretary to the Prime Minister's Office and Deputy Undersecretary of the State Planning Organization, was to have been sent to the IMF on 2 June. However, in the light of recent political developments which cast doubt upon the longevity of the JP-led minority government which had adopted a rather harsh three-year economic stabilization program, it was decided to postpone this date. Within this period, final decisions will be made on the topics of currency devaluations, fuel-price increases, and interest rates, figures for which have not yet been included in the letter.

The final decisions yet to be made are directly related to the question as to whether or not the minority JP government will stay in power. If the JP's minority government is confident that it will continue in power, and if it is able to obtain sufficient political guarantees on this topic, then the letter will go to the IMF. In the event that such assurances cannot be obtained, then the succeeding government will be left with a "ready made" agreement which could create problems in its relations with the IMF.

Observers note that the decision on the matter of a devaluation, in particular, is causing hesitation within the government as a result of the likely political consequences, and that thus great efforts are being expended in order that the 22-percent devaluation called for by the IMF be reduced. The amount of the devaluation was discussed last week with IMF Executive Board member De Groot, who had come to Ankara, and it was requested that he aid in getting the IMF to agree to a smaller initial devaluation. Turkey has no objection in principle to the IMF's call for a devaluation that would put the lira at a level of 94 lira to the U.S. dollar, but objects to such a devaluation being carried out immediately and at a single blow. De Groot, who arrived last week with Omer Isener, an IMF official who represents the Ministry of Finance, promised that he would staunchly defend the Turkish proposal, since he needs Turkey's support in the election which will be held this year. Meanwhile, the most recent reports from the IMF Headquarters in Washington suggest that the Turkish proposals on the matter of devaluation may indeed be accepted.

The IMF's new economic program, which has been accepted in principle despite the delay due to political concerns on the part of the JP minority government, calls for the Turkish economy to be administered according to policies set forth by the IMF; this is to extend over a 3-year period, divided into 3 equal parts of 12 months each, beginning in July 1980 and lasting until July 1983.

The program projects a reduction in the inflation rate to about 50 percent in June 1981, about 35 percent in June 1982, and about 25 percent in June 1983 as a result of adhering to strict monetary and credit policies.

The "letter of intent", which states that the increase in wage costs in the State Economic Enterprises will slightly exceed the 50-percent level in 1980 -- rising to 53.3 percent -- projects a 58.7-percent increase in the budget for total wages paid to public employees.

The new economic stabilization program applies a limitation to the Central Bank's private-sector credit for the first time; at the same time, the structure and amount of Turkey's foreign borrowing is restricted as well. Included among these restrictions is a prohibition on the use of foreign credit obtained through bilateral agreements. In addition, a lifting of the quota restrictions on imports is called for at the end of the period of "expanded financing arrangements."

For 1980, an expansion of no more than 125 billion lira in the credit offered to the public sector by the Central Bank is projected; at the same time, Turkey is expected to apply ceilings in private-sector credits for the first time. According to the "letter of intent", the increase in credits offered by the Central Bank to banks and the agricultural sector will not exceed 105 billion lira.

TURKS IN THRACE DEPRIVED OF RIGHTS

Istanbul TERCIMAN in Turkish 28 May 80 p 3

[Article by Cevat Taylan]

[Text] Ankara (MEDITERRANEAN NEWS AGENCY) -- While 60,000 Greeks who hold Turkish passports live so privileged a life in Greece, benefiting from double citizenship, that local inhabitants object, 15,000 Turks in Western Thrace from whom the Greeks have taken all vestiges of citizenship live "without a country" in Turkey.

15,000 "Heimatlos" Western Thrace Turks

"Heimatlos" is the German term meaning "stateless" applied in international law to people unable to recover citizenship of a country after having lost it and to those born to them. Stateless people are unable to travel outside the country in which they live because they have no passport, are unable to work at jobs set aside for the citizens of that nation and their rights of property and real estate ownership are restricted. Even though the stateless Western Thrace Turks in Turkey have been treated a little less harshly in these areas, their status is not much different in principle.

Racial Discrimination in Greece

The almost 15,000 Western Thrace Turks living in Turkey are in this position first of all because of the racially-based citizenship law of Greece, which says in its constitution that it "is a legal state" and "rejects racial discrimination." There is a regulation in this law providing that "if it is determined that Greek citizens not of the Hellenic race are leaving the country with the intent to settle elsewhere, their citizenship is to be revoked by the Ministry of the Interior." The Turks, whose right to obtain property, indeed to have property, in Western Thrace is nonexistent owing to various pressures and who are deprived of the opportunity to educate and train themselves, lose their citizenship according to the Greek citizenship law if they leave their homes for a few months to come to Turkey. Turkish citizenship is denied these persons because "it would allow them to prepare to emigrate from Western Thrace and would facilitate the efforts by the Greeks to get rid of the Turkish population here."

Meanwhile, the story of the 60,000 Greeks with Turkish passports who live a privileged life in Greece taking advantage of double citizenship goes back to 1930. After realization of the population exchange between Turkey and Greece based on the Lausanne Treaty and the exclusion of Western Thrace Turks and Istanbul Greeks from this exchange, the two countries signed a "Navigation and Trade Agreement" in 1930. With the agreement, a few Turks decided to go to Greece to conduct business, whereas a large number of Greek Turks with Greek citizenship were wealthy enough to settle especially in Istanbul to conduct business in Turkey and many intermarried with Turkish citizens. When the Makarios administration and the remnants of EOKA perpetrated bloody incidents in 1964 with both open and covert encouragement by Greece, a "guarantor state" of Cyprus, Turkey revoked the 1930 agreement and expelled Greek Citizens from Turkey. Hoping that the Turkish fury would subside and the agreement be reinstated, they did not at first bother to take their Turkish-national families to Greece. However, when it became clear, especially after 1970, that no solution to the Turkish-Greek dispute was in sight and as life in Turkey gradually became more difficult, the close relatives, who were Turkish citizens, of the Greek citizens went to Greece also. In addition to the Turkish citizenship which they already had, they were granted Greek citizenship as well and received aid and support in various areas from official and private organizations.

8149

CSO: 4901

ECEVIT DISCUSSES POLITICAL SITUATION, PROPER GOVERNMENT

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 30 May 80 p 6

[Text] Ankara, Special -- RPP General Chairman Bulent Ecevit called a press conference after the general executive board meeting held yesterday and, proposing the formation of a broadly-based government to be made up of the RPP, the JP [Justice Party] and the NSP [National Salvation Party], said, "We are seeking a broadly-based government which would definitely exclude the NAP [Nationalist Action Party]."

Explaining that the general executive board had reached the conclusion that both the general composition and the general approach and the attitude of the government had brought Turkey to a very dangerous point where democracy was on the verge of losing its ability to function, Ecevit continued as follows:

"Believing that with the termination of this government would come opportunities to form a sounder and more effective government, the general executive board resolved upon announcement of the following views:

"Various circles which perpetrate violence in our country are pursuing goals which are not compatible with democracy. Therefore, however much they may contradict each other as to basic goals, they share the goal of destroying democracy.

"The concentration of the violence for some time directly on the political parties and party leaders shows that the various circles engaged in violence have mounted the offensive to step up attainment of this common goal.

"The reasoning is that bringing party administrators to the position of being unable to perform their duties in safety will, to a great extent, keep the political parties, which are described in our constitution as 'the indispensable elements of political life,' from performing their functions and then democracy will be inoperative.

'TGNA Deadlocked'

"Moreover, all work of the TGNA [Turkish Grand National Assembly], which is the foundation stone of our democratic republic, has been deadlocked because of the attitude of the NAP, which is in the position of being the principal supporter of the party in power.

"That the administration and the forces and circles which are its chief support feel no consternation about this situation and that they have adopted an attitude and behavior to speed democracy's loss of function is obvious from their having launched a widespread and intensive campaign for radical constitutional changes to destroy the democratic regime entirely and approaching the dimensions of a 'change of system.'

Bosom of the Nation

The National Assembly Group of the NAP, a political party which bears great responsibility for the arrival of Turkey and Turkish democracy at this state, resolved yesterday to propose to the party's general board of administration 'the continuation of its struggle in the bosom of the nation.' And announced that it would not attend Assembly sessions until the decision was adopted by the general board of administration.

"This resolution by the NAP Group has a meaning which goes beyond the occasional reactions by different parties in the form of boycotting the work of the parliament. For a political organ whose first obligation is to do its job in the Assembly to choose on its own something outside the Assembly as the basis of its work and endeavor means taking a definite step toward shifting democracy off its legal course.

"The term 'bosom of the nation' is used as a decoy. There is no room in the bosom of the Turkish nation, which identifies with belief in democracy, for upstarts who turn away from the duty which the nation has given them in the TGNA and engage in nonlegitimate activities in the sense of "mountaineering" in the public vernacular and who would bully the public into submission.

"If the NAP cannot stand the situation to which the government has brought the nation in 6 months and is going ahead on this route, it must be reminded that that government was formed and has survived with its own support and that it fully shares in the government's responsibility.

"It is necessary that the JP administration also understand that as long as it survives with the support of this party, which has been instrumental in Turkey's and the government's being dragged into this situation, it is committing transgressions which grow worse every day.

"The NAP has launched a nationwide revolt, an adventure into antistate actions. They have exemplified with these actions just what they mean by 'carrying on the struggle in the bosom of the nation.'

Administration of Justice

"Moreover, the NAP, which is the government's principal supporter, said in its general board of administration's bulletin yesterday, 'If necessary, we will bring the universe down on those who shoot at us,' thereby revealing its intention, despite the constitutional injunction that 'no person or organ may use any authority of state which does not have its source in the Constitution,' to replace the power of the state and to administer 'personal justice,' that is, to abuse its rights and search and protect by illegal means.

"That is, the NAP's general chairman, in his statement yesterday, expressed no direct or indirect relationship with acts of violence but pointed to the RPP, which has always opposed violence of any sort from any source whatsoever, as the one responsible for attacks on NAP leaders and adherents. And this is how he has quite obviously incited his militants, who have launched a campaign of sedition nationwide, to action against the RPP and its administrators.

"Since the organization which they accuse with this kind of slander and have taken as their target is the RPP, it is automatically clear whom they plan to bring the 'universe' down on.

"The administrators of this party are certainly justified in reacting to their grief over the loss of their deputy general chairman to a political crime. The RPP, and our entire nation, shares that grief.

"But if their reaction falls contrary to the rules of the lawful democratic state and is aimed at the destruction of democracy, then that reaction is unlawful and even their grief over the loss of a party administrator cannot excuse that sort of reaction.

"RPP administrators are being killed one after the other. But we have not and will not let our grief lead one, single RPP member to stray from our lawful, democratic and peaceful course.

"Today, a government which the NAP supports and which the RPP does not support is directing the state. But the RPP and the administrators and members of this party do not oppose the authority of the state, even in moments of deepest grief or in expressing the most justified reactions, they are not consumed by a mania for 'personal justice,' and do not take one step beyond the bounds of the democratic and lawful course of struggle.

"In the time when the JP government has survived through NAP support, Turkey has been dragged into the present state of terrorism and anarchy despite this peaceful RPP opposition, so moderate as to be criticized by legal, indeed many, circles.

in the JP Bulletin...

"In the bulletin released yesterday, the JP TCNA Group came out against anarchy's being made to seem a government problem.

"Ever since the last time it came to power, the JP administration has been stressing frequently that anarchy and terrorism have reached the dimensions of a 'state and national problem' exceeding the government.

"Again ever since this government was formed, the prime minister and the JP administration have been calling on all the parties to adopt a 'common stance' against anarchy and terrorism, as was reiterated in yesterday's joint group bulletin.

"Actually, it is obvious that while the terrorism in Turkey today is so deep and wide that even a stronger party in power would have trouble coping by itself, a minority government such as the present one, a government, moreover, which is surviving with the support of some of those who are party to the terrorism, can in no way come to terms with the terrorism and anarchy.

Broadly-Based Government

"While every day brings painful proof of how invalid and risky the 'stance' is which this government has adopted or has been forced to adopt against anarchy and terrorism, the RPP cannot be asked or expected to be a partner in that 'stance.' But the government also admits that it cannot succeed by itself in a struggle against anarchy and terrorism. From that standpoint, it is a fact that a common stance and behavior in this regard would be beneficial.

"The most viable way to adopt a 'common stance' against the anarchy and terrorism which have brought the state and democracy to the brink of an abyss and, indeed, have begun to spill over the brink is to take on as a partner the responsibility of government, to determine as a partner and apply as a partner the stance to be adopted and the attitude to be pursued.

"Such a partnership could be ensured through a broadly-based government which would have no connection either directly or indirectly with acts of violence and which not just the two large parties, but all parties and forces committed to democracy would form or support.

"Seeing where Turkey is headed, we consider it an historical duty to reiterate once again in these times of most visible danger this call which we have been making for months.

"But even if that route cannot be taken, the termination of this government will open up other paths.

"The crisis which has been intensifying rapidly for 6 months and which stems largely from the structure and attitude of the government indicates, in any case, that Turkey has an urgent government problem and that this problem must be resolved without further delay."

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CSO: 4907

INTEREST RATES DECONTROLLED

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 5 Jun 80 p 9

[Text] Ankara: The Council of Ministers has ruled that the interest rates to be applied on loans by banks are "to be determined freely, in accordance with the time periods involved." According to the ruling published in yesterday's RESMI GAZETE [OFFICIAL GAZETTE] and valid as of 1 July, "The rates of interest on loans will be freely determined by the bank and the borrower; changes in the maximum interest rates will not be able to be applied to new credit agreements made in accordance with this ruling until 6 months have expired."

According to an edict included in the decree, the Turkish Union of Banks will be unable to impose any restrictions whatsoever upon the interest rates on either loans or deposits, which will be determined by either the bank and the borrower or the bank and the depositor, respectively.

According to the new decision, the inter-bank interest rate will henceforth be unregulated, interest will not be paid on official and commercial deposits, and the interest rates on time deposits will be determined between the bank and the depositor. The interest rate for demand deposits has been established at 5 percent.

The decision by the Council of Ministers also reformulates the rates to be paid by banks as interest differential, as well as the interest differentials to be applied to both banks and borrowers above the interest rates applied to loans.

In summary, the ruling also contains the following provisions:

- Banks can issue certificates of deposit, inscribed "Bearer", of from 6 months to 2 years in term. The certificates of deposit will be subject to the statutes which deal with savings deposits.

- A premium of 5 percentage points will be added to the current interest limits on savings deposits opened as a result of the sale of foreign exchange, whether sent by money order from Turkish workers employed abroad or by the exchange of cash. This differential will be paid out of an interest differential repayment fund.

- The interest rates currently applicable to savings deposits of this type will be valid through the allotted term of the deposits, although depositors will be permitted to avail themselves of any of the various decrees which would be to their benefit.

- In the event of withdrawal of time deposits with the permission of the bank but before the allotted term of the deposit has expired, the maximum interest rate allowed will be 5 percentage points lower than the maximum interest applied to funds on deposit from the date of deposit to the date of withdrawal. This rate, however, will never be less than the interest paid on demand deposits.

- The principles and conditions relating to the implementation of this decree will be communicated to interested parties by means of announcements which will be published in the RESMI GAZETE by the Central Bank. Problems of interpretation which arise in practice will be resolved by the Bank.

- The interest rates established as a result of this decree will go into effect at the beginning of the month following the publication of the decision of the Council of Ministers in the RESMI GAZETE, provided that at least 15 days pass between the date of said publication and the implementation of the interest rates.

- Banks will deposit 10 percent of the interest income which they realize from export loans of less than two years in term, and 25 percent of the interest income realized from other loans, into an "interest differential repayment fund." In the same way, 15 percent of the interest from loans of longer than two years, as well as of the interest from operating loans opened for investments listed in the table of promoted goods, as well as 25 percent of the interest obtained from other loans, will be deposited into this fund.

- Two points of the interest paid on supplementary reserves will be deposited into the fund. As for the annual interest rates to be paid by the Central Bank on supplementary reserves, the rates have been raised from 5 percent to 10 percent on reserves deriving from demand deposits and short-term deposits of up to six months term, and from 8 percent to 16 percent on reserves deriving from deposits of over six months in term. A change has also been instituted in the period of supplementary reserves; it has been reduced from a year to six months.

- In order to bring down the costs of export loans, export-oriented investment loans, and operating loans used in other investments listed in the table of promoted goods, the interest differential repayment rates applied to banks and credit-users have been increased.

Central Bank Loans

The interest rates to be applied on loans from the Central Bank to the Treasury, the State Economic Enterprises, and bodies with supplementary budgets, have been announced for the first time and published in the RASMI GAZETE. According to the decree revealed by the Central Bank's announcement, the interest rates applicable to loans extended to these public institutions in order for them to meet their seasonal needs insofar as the purchase of raw materials and other products will be determined by the Bank, on the condition that they not exceed the rediscount rates applied to other similar loans. The new rates will be applied to whatever increases may arise in the debit balances of these institutions after the date upon which this decree becomes effective.

Meanwhile, the interest rates applied to short-term credit advances to the Treasury will not exceed 10 percent.

It was also announced that the 10-percent interest rate applied to credit advanced to public institutions will go into effect as of 1 July 1980.

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FISCAL IRREGULARITIES IN KIT'S UNCOVERED

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 17 May 80 pp 1, 13

[Article by Erol Gonenc]

[Text] While savings-oriented operations are being performed at the KIT's [Public Economic Enterprises] on the rationale that they are an enormous burden on the state budget and have brought the economy to a standstill, it seems that employees and administrators are being hired irregularly and in a way that thwarts savings. First, it has been determined that the same administrative system is applied at all the KIT's, including THY [Turkish Airlines], the Maritime Bank of Turkey, and the Turkish Maritime Transport Corporation. Some retired administrators, technicians and directors have been rehired by their old organizations after retirement, bringing reactions.

While thousands of KIT retirees are unable to get their benefits and compensations, retirees among upper-level administrators reportedly continue on the same job under contract, receive retirement benefits approaching 1 million liras and, moreover, collect both the salary from the place where they are working and their retirement pension. It was found in the first survey that 70 retirees from the Turkish Maritime Transport Corporation and THY alone were working after retirement at the same organization either on contract or the regular payroll. This figure reportedly approaches 1,000 including all the KIT's. It was learned also that there are people who have retired from other establishments and are now on KIT payrolls, most of them at THY. There has been a significant public reaction to this practice, which has led to the KIT's being described as a kind of "farming" or "feedbag" and to their gaining the reputation as establishments where political administrations make their election investments.

Moreover, while KIT employees are having great difficulty collecting their retirement benefits when they retire, Maritime Bank Director General Husamettin Atabeyli and Deputy Directors General Erol Taran Sezai Tekmen and Ali Can reportedly received length-of-service retirement payments before they retired. Certain administrators, pointing out that according to the personnel law, retirement benefits may be given only if the employee is retired, say that they do not know how top level Maritime Bank administrators managed to collect their benefits before they retired.

Investigations have been made which show that there are 19 persons working at THY after having retired from the airlines or somewhere else. It was also revealed that 33 persons are working under contract at the national aviation administration after having retired. These employees were usually found at the administrative and technical levels. Some of those working under contract or on the payroll after retirement at THY are: Zaim Ertan (civil defense director), Zihni Naiboglu (flight operations chief), Erdogan Ozkaratay (deputy technical affairs director), Eyup Ozalkus (intelligence chief), Kenan Ateslioglu (warehouse director), Erdogan Akunal (THY secretary general) and Kadri Satiryigit (planning chief).

At the Maritime Transport Corporation, 20 persons were found to be working as upper level administrators and in technical service after retirement. Some of those upper level administrators continuing in their jobs under contract after retirement are: Ismail Akant (after retiring as assistant director general of trade, worked at the corporation as an advisor), Fehamet Gokel (after retiring from his job as a legal advisor, continued to work under contract as an advisor to the directorate general). An additional 17 persons at Maritime Transport reportedly continued to work under contract in the technical division there after retirement.

KIT administrators, however, maintain that this method of operation is legal, that they have special difficulty in finding technical personnel, that they employ retirees for this reason and say:

"We do not get employees for vacant positions, especially technical positions, because of the wages at the KIT's. We have to employ skilled, experienced personnel after they retire. There is nothing irregular in this. The same method is used in all of the KIT's..."

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PRICES INCREASE, BUYING POWER DECREASES

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 19 May 80 p 6

[Text] The failure to see a concomitant rise in workers' wages in parallel with price increases in Turkey indicates that workers are being pushed into poverty with every passing day.

It has been found in this context that real drops in worker wages came most during the RPP administration. Labor and management have each published their own tables on price hikes and rises in worker wages and each obtained different results. In essence, each side presents its own version of the truth. The sides say that they get different results because they have different ways of looking at prices and wages. In fact, labor looks at the money received and compares wages received with prices, while management compares the gross wages paid to labor with prices and concludes that wages have gone up in comparison with prices.

For example, according to figures taken from the Social Security Organization [SSO]'s Labor Report, although prices were 550.9 percent higher in 1978 than in 1968, the prime daily average wage rose 736.8 percent.

Noting these figures, labor has objected saying, "Labor's real wages have regressed. Although gross wages have moved out in front of prices, when we look at the money going into the worker's pocket we see that real wages have gradually declined. Labor maintains, moreover, that legal and other social benefits were not included in these figures and point out that the conclusion is not correct.

For example, the Turkish Confederation of Employer Union's 1980 Labor Report treats wages as a business cost and says:

"In 1978, business costs consisting of management's share of Social Security, seniority and unemployment insurance, expenditures for on-the-job training of employees and other social services costs in addition to wages and social and such assistance rose by 50.3 percent to reach a record level. The highest rate of increase among business cost components is seen in social assistance, with a monetary value in 1978 of 15.45 liras per hour. Wages alone accounted for 49.8 percent of the total cost, and fringe benefits, 50.2 percent. In other words, fringe benefits rose at 108 percent of the rate of bare wages in 1978."

According to research by the Metal Products Industrialists Union, price and wage increases in recent years were as follows:

"While the cost-of-living index in Istanbul rose 373.2 percent between the years of 1971-1977, bare wages rose 432.5 percent and other fringe benefits and social assistance outside bare wages rose about 796.6 percent. The total of workers' income during this period rose 571.2 percent. Many semi-skilled or unskilled workers with minimum seniority in our workplaces today make more money than a director general or an undersecretary with 25 years of service to the state."

Labor and Union view

In light of the statistics published by the SSO, workers and the unions compared prices and worker wages in a table containing the following data:

"Looking at 1971-1979, worker wages stayed behind prices except in 1973 and 1976. The difference is extremely large, especially in 1978 and 1979. For example, taking up the Istanbul cost-of-living index and the net current wage index, price increases in 1971 were 19 percent and wage increases 9 percent, price increases in 1972 were 15.4 percent and wage increases 9.8 percent, price increases in 1973 were 14 percent and wage increases 18.9 percent, price increases in 1974 were 23.9 percent and wage increases 21.5 percent, price increases in 1975 were 21.2 percent and wage increases 18.9 percent, price increases in 1976 were 17.4 percent and wage increases 26.7 percent, price increases in 1977 were 26 percent and wage increases 22.8 percent, price increases in 1978 were 61.9 percent and wage increases 32.5 percent and price increases in 1979 were 63.5 percent and wage increases 38 percent." (See Public Services Workers Union Labor Report, p 39)

Surveying the past 9 years, it is seen in 1978 and 1979 that the highest price increases and, conversely, the largest drops in real wages came during the RPP administration. In fact, the RPP lost favor with labor in the 1979 interim elections and lost a great many votes because those who started out with the administration slogan favoring workers placed the heaviest burdens on workers' shoulders after they took office, and the RPP and its leader Ecevit accused labor of betrayal. The ratio between price hikes and wage increases in Turkey looks even on paper. However, in practice, price increases are net and wage increases are gross, indicating that the situation is developing against the worker. Heavy taxes and various deductions reduce the amount of cash going into the worker's pocket. In fact, despite the 200 percent rate of increase in wages accomplished through collective agreements, the net benefit to the worker from this increase remains at around 50 percent. Unless the tax system is changed, it does not matter what rate of increase the workers get, they will grow poorer every day vis-a-vis net price increases because they pay the majority of their incomes for taxes. On the other hand, management will always look at the money going into its pockets and complain about how high business costs are. However, no matter how high business costs are in a market

without competition, because they will be added to prices, the ones who benefit from the unhealthy climate in the economy will be the employers, and the losers will be the workers and the citizens who have to pay high prices for the goods produced.

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LIBYAN-TURKISH RELATIONS PROFILED

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 30 May 80 p 10

[Article by Ergin Unal]

[Text] Ankara (HURRIYET) -- As the grace period until 11 June allowed by Libyan Chief of State Colonel Qadhafi for Libyans abroad to return to their country approaches, no solution has yet been found to the "diplomatic problem" which arose following the outbreak of incidents in which lives were lost principally in America, Britain, West Germany, Italy and certain other European countries and ending with the seizure by youths of the embassy in Turkey.

Foreign Ministry officials pointed out that diplomatic relations with Libya are continuing and that our ambassador in Tripoli is engaged in talks on this matter. The officials reported that "no written notice has yet been issued by the Libyan government about exchange of the personnel in the embassy but Turkey's accredited ambassador continues to be recognized." Despite the removal from their jobs of Ambassador Abu Shuwayrib and the counselors, all embassy functions have continued since 12 May under the supervision of the youths, visas for Turks working in this nation and similar needs being taken care of without a hitch.

The Foreign Ministry awaits notice of the status of the youths who created the situation in the embassy; the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya secretary of foreign affairs sent a letter to Turkey saying only that "the incident which occurred" in their Ankara embassy "was a 'disposition of the people,'" whereupon the five Libyan youths, who call themselves the "Libyan representation people's committee," officially informed the Foreign Ministry which of them would be handling what tasks.

While this correspondence was taking place, the Libyan youths were waiting, on the one hand, for the Turkish Foreign Ministry's decision about them while, on the other, throwing themselves into embassy affairs.

The Libyan youths, who, except for one who had visited Turkey earlier as a tourist, were in our country for the first time, forced Ambassador Abu Shuwayrib to stay in his home and seized all functions. The committee secretary, Dr Umran Al-Fituni Isa, who took over all ambassadorial tasks, said about Abu Shuwayrib who is reportedly a prominent leader of the Libyan revolution, "He is now a normal Libyan citizen. We are showing him the same concern we show any Libyan citizen and meeting his desires in this measure."

Noting that they had taken over the representation duties in the Ankara embassy upon the directive of the Libyan Popular Congress, Doctor Isa expressed his pleasure at talking for the first time with a Turkish journalist and said that "the Libyan revolution had its source in Ataturk." He added:

"Ataturk, the greatest leader of the century, was the first guide for the Islamic world in the fight against imperialism and colonialism...And not just for the Islamic world but for all oppressed peoples."

Noting that he had never been to Turkey before but had been preoccupied with Turkish history all his life, Doctor Isa said that he had studied history at "Fatih University" in Tripoli, had spent years in the study of Turkish history since 1917, had written his thesis on this topic and had spent 6 years in America on the study of "international relations, Turkey and Middle Eastern problems." He then turned the conversation back to Ataturk and said:

"Ataturk fought shoulder to shoulder with us against colonialism in Libya before the Turkish war of liberation. Libya is now waging the war that Ataturk realized at the beginning of the century."

"After Ataturk, Nasser emerged mid-century as a great leader, and at the end of the century, Qadhafi has realized the Libyan revolution. He has become the symbol against injustice and colonialism. Now, we are at the side of all peoples fighting wars of liberation; we are helping them."

Pointing out that they were "trying to develop people-to-people relations" instead of "traditional diplomacy" in Turkey, Doctor Isa said that they had received no orders from Qadhafi about their undertaking at the embassy but had later received a congratulatory message from him.

Asked, "What will happen to Ambassador Abu Shwayrib," Dr Umran Al-Fituri Isa replied, "We do not know that. Abu Shwayrib is a normal Libyan citizen. If the Libyan people so desire in the future, he may be given any sort of assignment again."

Isa, who grew up within the Libyan revolution and with that understanding from the first days of his youth, had the following to say on relations with Turkey:

"Turkey is very important to Libya. In addition to their historical ties, the two nations complement each other from the standpoint of economic relations. We have a 5-point agreement at the moment. We will try to develop these things even further. Whatever our predecessors did, we will start at that point and move forward. In addition to all this, the great love of our revolutionary leader Qadhafi for the Turkish people constantly encourages us to establish very good relations with Turkey."

'TERCUMAN' NOTES RISING TERRORISM, GIVES REASONS, REMEDIES

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 30 May 80 pp 1, 12

[Article by Nazli Ilıcak]

[Text] Anarchy is mounting rapidly in Turkey. The following figures may give us a good idea:

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Number dead	17	17	15	3	34
	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980 (5 mo)
	90	295	1,095	1,368	846

Comparison of the first 5 months of the years 1978-1979-1980 shows that incidents of violence have doubled.*

	1978	1979	1980
January	51	53	132
February	38	53	161
March	58	92	160
April	50	73	229
May	66	115	164 (to 20 May)

The following lines appeared in the 10 May TERCUMAN newspaper: "Killed to date have been 17 provincial chairmen from the NAP [Nationalist Action Party], 2 from the RPP and 1 from the JP [Justice Party]."

On 22 December 1979 GUNAYDIN wrote that the NAP was the major target and reported that up to that date, 4 provincial leaders, 5 district leaders and altogether 362 upper level administrators from the NAP had been killed, that the RPP was second with 100 administrators killed and that the JP had 4.

*These are not official figures, but figures taken from our own archives.

Once statistics on anarchy began being reported, public interest declined and the tension dispersed. After a while, nobody paid any attention to whom it might have been who was killed, whether there might be children or entire families wiped out. Each calamity became the concern only of its victims, only families and relatives worried about the places worst hit, and for the public, numbers slowly began to replace people, to wit: "In anarchistic incidents, 362 NAP, 100 RPP and 4 JP lives were lost. So many police, so many students, so many teachers and journalists died."

This behavior is the poison born of familiarity. The nation is now in the state of numbness induced by a shot of morphine into the bloodstream. It cannot react, it cannot shake off the haze, the lethargy.

Just as morphine or narcotics can kill its takers, anarchy is rapidly leading a nation into the fatal malaise.

The NAP, which lost a distinguished member on 27 May, is the chief target of the terrorism. Deputy General Secretary Yasar Okyan voiced this grief as follows several months ago: "Burying seven or eight NAP members every day has become a new and painful task, pushing party work aside."

Then Gun Sazak also died. He is being buried today. Who knows what awaits us tomorrow. More than a few people believe that this will lead to a current rushing into the sea of terrorism that no one knows how to stop.

Reason

Why has Turkey fallen into the grip of terrorism? Different groups offer different explanations. Let us list them briefly:

1. The prohibition of the formation of a communist party has pushed some people into street actions because they are barred from parliamentary activity.
2. There is no interparty dialog.
3. Terrorism is rooted in fascism and is aimed at laying the groundwork for an army intervention. The administration tolerates fascism, cannot catch the murderers and allows them to escape from prison.
4. The failure to realize the democratic and social reforms of the constitution is the major element provoking the incidents.

In our view, all of these items are subject to debate and need the following supplementation:

--Italy, where communism is free and has the status of the second largest party in parliament, is one of the countries where terrorism is most widespread. Since 1974, terrorism in Italy has had its source primarily in the extreme left, because the extreme left has lost faith in the communist leader, Berlinguer, thinking that he has turned toward revisionism and away

from revolution. Armed leftist organizations using violence suddenly appeared alongside the communist parties operating in parliament... Frequent left-right dialog in Italy has not reduced tension but, on the contrary, fanned the flames. The assassination of Aldo Moro, who laid the groundwork for Communist-Christian cooperation, was no happenstance. Activist groups immediately sprang up farther to the left of the communists who were drifting toward legitimacy... Yet in Turkey, the reason that such parties as the Turkish Labor Party, the Turkish Socialist Workers Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party cannot be admitted to the Assembly is not the ban on communism but the will of the nation.

Communism is a close relative of violence, because its goal is "destruction of the state" and bringing the "colonial order" to an end. The /class war/ [in boldface] is founded on this doctrine. Marxism put the stamp of legitimacy in the hand of the activist. The Constitutional Court and the Courts of Jurisdictional Disputes have clearly indicated in various decisions the relationship between /violence and communism/ [in boldface].

--It is necessary to admit that terrorism springs from the left and from the right. In fact, this has been established in the courts. But it must not be forgotten that the actions first started on the left and that the right organized and was strengthened in reaction.

--The rapid spread of anarchy is the fate of places where poverty is entrenched. Those who have nothing to lose are more easily led into both communism and violence. The poor are ripe pickings in the hands of those who wish to destroy Turkey and the state. Poverty is not a "motive" but a tool skillfully used by those attempting to achieve their desired goals.

After these explanations, we may list briefly as follows the reasons for terrorism in Turkey:

--Communist ideology and all other ideologies which brook no opposition.

--Poverty (unemployment, young people piled up at the university gates).

--The patronage of the anarchistic youths by the press, educators and certain intellectuals in the years when their actions first began. (Denigration of the security forces and army with such accusations as fascist police and counter-guerrillas, claiming that they were struggling for social rights without taking into consideration the ideological goals of the terrorists, the claim that some of the youths were defending the state.)

--Break-off of the JP-RPP dialog, its failure to reach a common diagnosis.

--The breakdown of authority created by constantly changing governments and a weak executive. The failure to make and carry out decisions quickly. (The declaration of martial law was delayed for a long time, as the draft measure was held up in the Assembly.)

Democracy does not mean undisciplined freedom. Discipline itself is comprehensive order established through the consent of free people, not force and violence. Such order is maintained only through authority. Let us not forget that individuals can enjoy their rights and freedoms only in an orderly society, a society which employs the necessary rules.

Solution

Then what is the solution?

--Form a sincere and close cooperation against terrorism, with favoritism to none.

--Restore the authority which is the guarantee of the unity of the state and the continuation of democracy.

--Stabilize government and provide continuity in decisions.

--Expand prosperity in Turkey. Let us add that political stability lies at the foundation of economic development.

The state is not helpless in the face of anarchy; but carelessness, and perhaps treason, are keeping it from finding the right way.

8349

CSO: 4907

'VOTCP' CRITICIZES GOVERNMENT PLANS FOR ARMED FORCES

TA171043 Voice of Turkish Communist Party [Clandestine] in Turkish to Europe and Turkey 0600 GMT 17 Jun 80

[Unattributed commentary: "30 August and the Demiral Government's Plan To Mow Down the Armed Forces"]

[Summary] "Just as has been the case every year, arguments and disputes regarding the armed forces have also surfaced this year prior to 30 August [promotions and retirements]. Sovereign circles make use of 30 Augusts in order to consolidate their position among the higher ranks of the armed forces which they have transformed into the guard of their own interests. However, this year the disputes have been harsher than ever. The Justice Party [JP] which has established a bloody cooperation with the Fascist Nationalist Action Party [NAP] is trying to implement a wide-ranging hatchet plan among the higher echelons of the armed forces. The JP has begun to implement this plan through tactics employed during the presidential elections. The JP wants to appoint to the high echelons of the armed forces either generals loyal to the party or notorious reactionary generals, such as Turun, who might later join the party. The surfacing of the dispute between Demirel and [chief of the General Staff] Evren clearly exposes the JP's wide-ranging hatchet plan.

The Western press notes that the armed forces have twice intervened in Turkish politics this year. The generals are hesitant about conducting a military coup. The Western press also points out that the memorandums by the armed forces are steps leading toward a coup. The current situation clearly shows the points of disagreement between the JP-NAP duo and other bourgeois political parties. "These points are described as follows: 1) the increasing weight of the militarist clique in political life with the help of martial law and the gradual transformation of the regime into a semimilitary regime of oppression, 2) attempts to directly prepare an atmosphere conducive to a military coup and 3) attempts to maintain Turkey as the gendarme of imperialism in the Middle East by appointing to the higher echelons of the armed forces generals subservient to U.S. imperialism and NATO."

The RPP's right wing is far from taking a firm stand aimed at preventing imminent danger. During meetings he held with independent deputies, RPP leader Bulent Ecevit noted the existence of such a danger. He also stressed that the NAP is doing all it can to keep the Demirel government in power until 30 August. However, what are Ecevit and the RPP right wing doing to prevent the danger? Have they adopted a decisive stand against the sources of this danger? The answer is clearly no because the RPP right wing has proposed cooperation with the JP. It is obvious that JP-RPP cooperation is not an alternative to mounting fascism and to the JP plans regarding the armed forces.

"Patriots within the armed forces should unite against the hatchet plans of Demirel, Turkes and the reactionary fascist forces in order to prevent the use of the armed forces against the people and our national interests. They should not allow 30 Augusts to be hatchet days. Thirty August should be a glorious day commemorating our war of national liberation and independence. Patriots within the armed forces, democratic officers and privates should support the struggle waged by our people against the bilateral slavery agreements, the U.S. death bases and NATO in order to preserve the real meaning of 30 August."

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